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SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CABILDO AS AN INSTITUTION¹

At the outset, it should be stated that this paper is based upon limited source materials and further that, with reference to some of the phases of the subject treated, many of the available materials were incomplete. For the Spanish American *cabildo*, the writer had the *Actas*, *Acuerdos*, or municipal archives, certain *expedientes* and memorials of the cities of Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Montevideo, Córdoba, Tucuman, Asunción, and some isolated documents of Havana, New Orleans, Mexico City, Jujuy, Salta, and Lima.² With such restricted opportunities for investigation, the vague title of the paper may perhaps have a certain pertinence. Properly, therefore, it may be said that this article is concerned with the *cabildo* of southern South America; and that, within the field of this limitation, the writer attempts a survey of opinion, the statement of impressions and reflections rather than conclusions, in the hope that the results may be suggestive.

The municipality of Spain and the Spanish colonies, whatever the legal form it may have been constituted under, has occupied

¹ A paper read at the Conference on Hispanic-American History at St. Louis, December, 1921, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

² The printed titles of the official records of the *cabildos* vary as, for example, *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* (from *Colección de Historiadores de Chile*. Edited by J. T. Medina); *Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires*; *Libro primero de Cabildos de Lima*; *Actas capitulares de Salta*; *Archivo Municipal de Córdoba*; etc.

and continues to occupy a large place in the literature of institutions and of political theory. Many writers of the older group like Hevía, Camilo Borrelo, Castillo de Bobadilla, Solórzano, and many others exhaustively examined the government of the city; so, likewise, have the other publicists, old and modern, like Pulgar, Bové, Hinojosa, Marquis de Pidal, Sacristan y Martínez, Puyol y Alonso, and more, too numerous to enumerate or to classify here, written on the various phases of municipal life in Spain. Among the modern writers of South America, who have attempted the interpretation of the *cabildo*, one might mention in an introductory way Sarmiento, Mitre, Alberdi, Bauza, Lastarria, Barros Arana, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, V. F. and L. V. López, Francisco and José M. Ramos Mejía, Juan A. García, Cárcano, Del Valle, Frias, Trelles, Montes de Oca, Lorente, and Ricardo Levene.³ The *cabildo*, as an institution associated with the city, has been considered from many points of view. First, its

³ J. de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana*, t. II. Lib. 5, Ch. I, pp. 251-260. He cites as authorities, among others, Hevía, Lanceloto, Avendaño, Baldo, Azevedo, Matienzo, Agustín Caputo. Castillo de Bobadilla, *Política para Corregidores*; A. Sacristán y Martínez, *Municipalidades de Castilla y León*; E. de Hinojosa, *Historia general del Derecho Español* (and other works by this great scholar); J. Puyol y Alonso, *Las Hermandades de Castilla y León*; P. J. Pidal, *Lecciones sobre la historia del gobierno y Legislación de España*; J. Gounon-Loubens, *Essais sur l'administration de la Castille au XVI^e siècle*. There are numerous works on particular cities as O. de Zuñiga, J. Matute y Gaviria, and N. Tenorio y Cerero on Sevilla; E. Pérez y Aguado on Madrid; D. Colmenares on Segovia; M. Villar y Macias on Salamanca. For other bibliographical guidance, see Vol. IV. of R. Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*, pp. 587-672. For the South American publicists: J. B. Alberdi, *Del Gobierno en Sud América* (t. IV. *Escritos Póstumos*); ———, *Estudios Económicos*, (Vol. I. *Obras Póstumas*); ———, *Elementos del Derecho Público Provincial*; D. F. Sarmiento, *Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América*; B. Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano*; F. Bauza, *Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay*; D. Barros Arana, *Historia general de Chile*; M. L. Amunátegui, *Los precursores de la independencia de Chile* ———, *El Cabildo de Santiago*; L. V. López, *Lecciones de historia argentina*; F. Ramos Mejía, *El federalismo argentino*; J. M. Ramos Mejía, *Las Multitudes Argentinas*; J. A. García, *La Ciudad Indiana*; C. O. Bunge, *Nuestra América*; A. Del Valle, *Nociones del Derecho constitucional*, M. A. Montes de Oca, *Cabildos Coloniales* (La biblioteca, 1897); ———, *Cuestiones constitucional*; R. Levene, *Lecturas históricas argentinas*; ———, *Los Orígenes de la democracia argentina*; J. Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*; S. Lorente, *Historia de la conquista del Perú*; J. Carrillo, *Apuntes de la Historia civil de Jujuy*; V. G. Quesada, *La Provincia Corrientes*.

history as an institution with its roots reaching back through the centuries to Rome, as some claim, has been traced. Second, its governmental structure has been minutely examined. Third, it has been regarded as an example of the projection, the transplantation, of a fundamental Spanish institution in the Americas. Fourth, it has been presented and considered from the points of view of political theory, philosophy, and sociology. Fifth, much thought has been devoted to it in an effort to measure its influence and define its place in the perpetuation of Spanish colonial institutions in the later political life of Hispanic America. Sixth, the cabildo had a variegated set of functions to perform which, even on cursory examination, may be analyzed as political, economic, religious, and social, and these aspects of its activity have been studied. However complete and generally accepted as authentic the information about it as an institution of Spain and the Americas may have been, the last four fields of inquiry have produced diversity of opinion enough. It may be said with evident truth that the Spanish American cabildo has become a subject of controversy. Schools of opinion, if they may be so described, have developed respecting it which may be roughly divided into three groups. First, those who have written favorably, even speculatively, about it, regarding it as an institution of power, as a training school for future democracy, as the sole institution which in any real sense or degree was independent of imperial control—commending in this connection the representative elements in its composition and the communal spirit often manifest in its actions—and finally as a basis of later federalism, in that, according to one writer, it was an outgrowth of the stubborn individualism, the intransigent particularism, of the Spanish people.⁴ Federalism would, according to this view, be a native product, evolving naturally from instinctive, inherited, and tenaciously persistent habits of thought; instead of being, as others have seemed to urge, an imported theory of government, introduced artificially by way of imitation and founded, therefore, by no means, upon the *geistige innigkeit* of the people. The following taken from Antonio Zinny partially represents this view:

⁴ F. Ramos Mejía, *El Federalismo Argentino*, p. 173.

La institución de municipalidades o ayuntamientos era la mayor garantía de la seguridad individual de los habitantes y su recta administración. Los Cabildos, compuestos de los regidores, alcaldes, y otros oficios, eran asambleas populares que reunían el ejercicio del gobierno interior, la policía, la administración de justicia en los casos ordinarios, el manejo de los fondos municipales y otras muchas y importantes facultades; de manera que sus atribuciones y prerrogativas eran muy vastas y aún superiores a los mismos ayuntamientos de la península, de donde había sido tomada toda aquella forma de gobierno.

Reconocidos por el pueblo como sus legítimos representantes, los Cabildos, en todas ocasiones, tomaban con empeño y decisión la defensa de sus personas y la protección de sus intereses; así, en la guerra de la independencia fueron los primeros en desconocer la autoridad real, abrogándose el poder supremo.⁵

This attitude of endorsement and favor is even more strongly expressed in the *Elementos del Derecho Público Provincial* of Juan Bautista Alberdi.

Antes de la proclamación de la república soberanía del pueblo existía en Sud América como hecho y como principio en el sistema municipal que nos había dado la España. El pueblo intervenía entonces mas que hoy en la administración pública de los negocios civiles y económicos. El pueblo elegía los jueces de lo criminal y civil en primera instancia; elegía los funcionarios que tenían á su cargo la policía de seguridad, el orden público, la instrucción primaria, los establecimientos de beneficencia y de caridad, el fomento de la industria y del comercio. El pueblo tenía bienes y rentas propios para pagar esos funcionarios en que nada tenía que hacer el gobierno político. De esto modo la política y al administración estaban separadas: la política pertenecía al gobierno y la administración al pueblo inmediatamente. . . .

Secondly, there have been jurists and political scientists who have written disparagingly of the cabildo as of weakness, rather than of strength; who have held it to have been oligarchical, rather than representative and democratic in composition; who have denied the validity of its pretensions as a school for future

⁵ Antonio Zinny, *Historia de los Gobernadores de las Provincias Argentinas*, I. pp. 110-111.

self-government; who have ridiculed its communal spirit; who have been skeptical of the claim that necessarily it was a basis of federalism. It may be considered that Professor José Ingenieros summarizes this opinion in the following:

El Cabildo colonial ha sido objeto de copiosas literaturas apologéticas, cuya ilegitimidad proviene de confundirlo con el municipio democrático, tal como lo concibe el derecho político moderno. Su legislación engaña a mucho, incluso a Alberdi; su funcionamiento efectivo entrevisto por López, fué revelador para del Valle, cuyas conclusiones han sido confirmadas por los que supieron preferir los hechos a las ficciones jurídicas.

Reducida al mero de las oligarquías municipales, la vida política de los Cabildos fué la única propia de las colonias durante de los tres siglos. ¿Que participación tuvieron en ella los nativos? Al principio, ninguna. Mas tarde, los descendientes de españoles fueron admitidos a formar parte de ellos; pero estos *españoles nativos* lo hacían en calidad de españoles y nunca como representantes de la masa popular criolla, que los consideraba tan *godos* como a los peninsulares . . . la ausencia de oportunidades hizo imposible esa educación para el gobierno que sólo puede adquirirse en la práctica del gobierno mismo. . . . La ausencia de ideales y de educación política durante el regimen colonial produjo la llamada anarquía, que fué una simple regresión al feudalismo ante la caducidad de la centralización monárquica.⁶

Thirdly, the group, which we may call the sociologists, have given attention to the social phases of the cabildo's activities, upon which some comment will presently be made. In order to arrive at any judgment, by way of tentative evaluation, upon these opinions and theories, it seems necessary briefly to survey the familiar ground of the cabildo as a political institution.

In the very beginning there is the difficulty of words and the necessity for certain definitions. In the minutes of the cabildos, one may frequently read such entries as this which is taken at random from the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*: "In the loyal city of Santiago de Chile . . . this day were joined together in its cabildo and ayuntamiento, as has been the custom, the

⁶ José Ingenieros, *La Evolución de las Ideas Argentinas*, Lib. I, *La Revolución*, pp. 39-41.

señores Justicia y Regimiento of this republic . . .". etc. Here cabildo and ayuntamiento are employed in a complementary sense or even synonymously, as seems to have been the custom. The term cabildo was used not only to represent institutionally the *Concejo de la municipalidad*, but with respect to certain other organizations such as the meetings of the *capitulares* of the chapter of the cathedral. There were cabildos also of organizations which had objects of a social, recreational, charitable, fiduciary, and pious nature, such as the negro cabildos of Cuba. Mr. Fernando Ortiz thinks the word cabildo was originally applied to the ecclesiastical assembly, whereas ayuntamiento referred to the municipal.⁷ The cabildo of our interest, of course, is that fundamental institution of municipal government, the town council.⁸

The scope of this paper does not permit a detailed presentation of the cabildo of the Spanish cities, nor of the charters (*fueros*), nor of the studies and interpretations even of such briefer works as those of Sacristán y Martínez, Salvá, Danvila y Collado, Matute y Gaviria, or Altamira.⁹ We need not at this point enter into the differences between the royal city and seignorial city nor into the rights, powers, and services of the frontier *villa*, nor into the system of gradation dependent upon size, type of religious establishment, or relation to the royal government. One may with safety say, perhaps, that in the foundation of the Spanish municipality—with its solemn ceremonial, with the selection of a patron saint, with erection of an appropriate ecclesiastical establishment, with the granting of a charter or the promulgation of the *Acta de Fundación*, with the institution of a political corporation on the place, with the adoption of a town

⁷ Fernando Ortiz, *Los Cabildos Afrocubanos* (in *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, XVI. No. I), pp. 8-10.; cf. D. Velez Sarsfield, *Relaciones del Estado con la Iglesia*, pp. 209-216; Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, II; Lib. 4, Ch. 13.

⁸ The term cabildo was also applied to the building which housed the *concejo* and its documents; likewise ayuntamiento sometimes connoted the municipal district as well as the government. The term "Cabildo secular" is sometimes used for purposes of distinction.

⁹ For excellent treatment, see R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*, I. 183-197, 221 ff., 473, 488-497; II. 144-152, 186.

plan, and with the constitution of a little republic—the people, the government, and the church combined to give to the act a peculiar dignity. There were differences in the organization, in the charters granted, in the composition of the municipal bodies, in the relative degrees of independence, in exemptions from duties and taxes, and in modes of procedure arising from differences in the policies and practices of the several governments of medieval Spain, and from the greatly varied customs of the complex ethnic groups and geographic sections of the peninsula. Much of the historical and juristic literature of Spain deals with the institutional and customary differences developed among these groups and sections. Much of it is devoted to a statement of the peculiarities of, or to a comparison of the differences between, Castile, the Basque areas, the Catalan settlements, etc. The cities, new and old, won privileges, in varying degree, during the wars of reconquest against the Mohammedans and in the bitter feudal struggles between the kings and nobles in which they gave aid to one or the other side as their interests demanded. The history of the evolution, growth, and ultimate decline of the cities taking place before the period of discoveries was summarized by Eseriche, who marked out three stages.¹⁰ The period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as that of the founding of many “little republics” and of the winning of privileges, during which time the membership of the cabildos was generally determined by popular election. “El Consejo”, wrote Sacristán y Martínez, “era una pequeña república regida por sus leyes propias y gobernada por sus magistrados particulares”.¹¹ In this sense it constituted a sort of *regnum in regno*.¹² Second, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a time of many changes when some secured municipal office by election of the people, some by grants in perpetuity, some by election through co-optation, some by lot, some by appointment of the *audiencia*, the incumbent cabildos merely nominating.

¹⁰ Eseriche, *Diccionario razonado de legislación y jurisprudencia*.

¹¹ *Municipalidades de Castilla y León*, p. 54. Quoted by F. Ramos Mejía, *op. cit.*, 83.

¹² Merriman, *op. cit.*, I. 490.

Third, the fifteenth century as a time of royal encroachment, the kings sending out *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*, who more or less consistently usurped powers of the cabildos. Writing of the closing years of the fifteenth century, during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Professor Merriman remarks, "It was in this reign that the *pesquisidores*, *veedores*, and *corregidores* for the first time really came into their own. . . . Beginning in the year 1480, they (the *corregidores*) were sent for the first time, to all the Castilian cities without exception, so that the institution was henceforth definitely extended over the entire realm. . . . The *corregidores* were, in fact, omniscient servants of an absolute king. Nothing less than this would suffice if they were to make head against the tremendous current of Spanish separatism which had rolled on unchecked for centuries".¹³ It may be added that a great blow in the interest of centralization was struck when the *comuneros* were defeated at the battle of Villalar in 1521 and the government of Charles was left free to make royal despotism effective.¹⁴ The final ruin of the municipalities, it has been held, came with the accession of the French Bourbons in the eighteenth century. The golden age of city home rule—the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries—was precisely the time when the influences of sectionalism stamped upon Spanish character its seemingly ineradicable individualism. Despite this commonly accepted idea of separatism, the view that the Spanish cities were "distinct and self-sufficing" units, there seems to have been some features of similarity. Altamira has shown that as early as Alfonso X. there were certain type-*fueros*—at least they might be so called in view of the similarities in their governmental provisions—such as Burgos, Valladolid, Soria, Avila, Simancas.¹⁵ From a consideration of the *fueros* of Cuenca, Oviedo, Lugo, Baeza, and Sepúlveda, García notes the following principles and general guaranties: 1. Equality before the law. 2. Inviolability of domicile. 3. Administration of justice by judges who were residents and who were elected by the people

¹³ *Ibid.*, II. 147, 148, 149.

¹⁴ Cf. F. Ramos Mejía, *op. cit.*, pp 95-96.

¹⁵ Altamira, *Historia de España*, II. 60-65, 76-77.

or the council. 4. Participation of the people in public affairs. 5. Responsibility of public functionaries.¹⁶ Further, the cities were strengthened by having that series of organizations known as the *Santa Hermandad* to fight their battles, by the formation of certain town leagues, and by representation in the Cortes.

As Sarmiento once wrote, the Spanish brought to this country no institution so old, none so rooted in their hearts, as the *cabildo*.¹⁷ Early in the history of the *Isla Española*, 1507, the towns "petitioned the king for the same privileges and forms of government as were possessed by the towns of Spain. The request was granted, and municipal rights were bestowed upon fourteen towns".¹⁸ There was in all of this what appears to have been a conscious effort to transplant the institutions of Spain in the New World. This was true not only of the colonists, but of the imperial government then and later for such a consciousness would seem to have been the stimulus of the following law:

Porque siendo de una corona los reinos de Castilla y de las Indias, las leyes y órden de gobierno de los unos y de los otros, deben ser lo mas semejantes y conformes que ser pueda: los de nuestro consejo en las leyes y establecimientos que para aquellos estados ordenaren, procuren reducir la forma y manera del gobierno de ellos al estilo y órden con que son regidos y gobernados los reinos de Castilla y de León en cuanto hubiere lugar y permitiere la diversidad y diferencia de las tierras y naciones.¹⁹

The *capitulaciones* of Pizarro will show, it is thought, that the procedural and governmental forms developed in *Española* were prescribed for the conquerors and *pobladores* of the South American continent, as may be inferred from the injunction, "conforme á lo que se ha hecho e hace en la dicha isla Española".²⁰

¹⁶ García, *La Ciudad Indiana*, pp. 159-161. Cf. Bernard Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, II. 371.

¹⁷ Sarmiento, *El conflicto y armonias de las razas*, p. 134.

¹⁸ C. H. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies*, p. 10.

¹⁹ *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de Indias*, Lib. 2, tit. 2, ley 13. 1636. This law was translated by Dr. Cunningham, *op. cit.*

²⁰ *Capitulación* of July 26, 1529. Cited by Moses, *op. cit.*, I. 161.

Three considerations, herein regarded as tenable, should be kept in mind in contemplating this transplantation of municipal institutions. It has been rightly held, I think, that many Spanish cities were founded and given special rights in the reconquest of Spain from the Mohammedans; so, it is claimed, cities were founded and given rights in the conquest of America from the Indians. Secondly, the colonization of the Americas was under way before the forces of centralization in Spain had destroyed municipal autonomy there. The following observation of Professor Merriman might be quoted in support of such a contention: "Decentralization, . . . , continued to be the salient feature of the life of the peninsula, even after the advent of despotism had crushed the nobles and sapped the vitality of the *concejos*. The ancient forms remained, though the animating spirit had fled".²¹ The dead and dying city life of Spain would seem, under the circumstances of colonization already mentioned, to have had a sort of renaissance in America. Thirdly, it may be supposed that wherever in America there should be any considerable grouping of the natives and former citizens of any Spanish city, or any concentration of members of any one of the Spanish ethnic units, they would seek to import Spanish institutions and culture not only, but that they would endeavor to establish in their new homes the governmental system, the political customs, which their own race and city had had in Spain. The validity of this last consideration, seemingly logical and inevitable, has yet to be fully demonstrated through research.²²

With this hastily constructed background in mind, we come at last to the *cabildo* of the Spanish colonies. As is well known, the cities or towns of the New World were classified as "*ciudad, villa ó lugar*".²³ All cities were to have two *alcaldes ordinarios*, but with reference to the number of *regidores* there does not seem

²¹ Merriman, *op. cit.*, II. 149.

²² Cf. F. Ramos Mejía, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff.

²³ O. Garfield Jones, *Local Government in the Spanish Colonies as Provided by the Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias* (Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XIX, 1915-1916) 65-90. This excellent digest of the *Recopilación* has been consulted throughout.

to have been any rule rigidly adhered to. In the metropolitan city there were twelve, while in the diocesan or sufragan only eight.²⁴ In a law of 1523; re-issued in 1568 and 1610, it was ordered that the principal cities should have twelve *regidores*, the *villas* and *pueblos* six. In the small *lugares* and coastwise *rancherías*, there was one *alcalde ordinario* and four *regidores*. In the very earliest days, there seem to have been cases where these officials were popularly elected; but, in general, however, the *adelantado* or the original *poblador* appointed the first set from among the conquistadores.²⁵ The early irregularity gave way to a system of annual election, on the first of January, when the retiring cabildo elected from among the resident citizens their successors, preferring original settlers and conquerors. With respect to this matter of election, as, indeed, with reference to the delimitation of the cabildo's powers and the administrative regulations concerning the performance of its duties, the king and the Council of the Indies legislated with a "prolix minuteness of details" (*prolija minuosidad*). As to this important matter of election, the history of the cabildo has been made to fall within two periods. That prior to 1620, when the membership in the cabildo was elective; and that subsequent, when the office of *regidor* was offered for sale. So far as I know the office of *alcalde ordinario* was never sold in public auction. Despite the fact that, according to Solórzano, the people had about the election of *regidores* the idea of natural right and despite the fact that this law was not generally enforced, this law has seemed to some writers on the subject to have worked a revolution.²⁶ About this precious right of election, there were placed certain protections, guarantees, and restrictions. The election was to be free from the intervention of viceroy, governor, and *audiencia*,

²⁴ *Recopilación*, Lib. 4, tit. 10, ley 1; ley 2. Solórzano, p. 252; Jones, *op. cit.*, 74. For suffrage restrictions, *Recopilación*, Lib. 4, tit. 10, leyes 5 and 6. Solórzano (p. 252) states in connection with this point that the American cabildos were founded "al modo, y forma, que se solia hacer, y practicar en los Reynos de España, antes que se introduxesse el uso de los corregidores, . . ."

²⁵ Jones, *op. cit.*, 84-85; *Recop.*, Lib. 4, tit. 25, ley 3; tit. 10, ley 3. Cf. E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 235; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, I. 530.

²⁶ In the *Recopilación*, libro 4, titles 7-16. Cf. Solórzano, 252.

though the viceroy, captain-general, governor, president, or their representative (*teniente*), was *ex officio* presiding officer over the cabildo, counted the votes, and proclaimed the results.²⁷ One of these high officials might even annul the election, as was the case in Potosí, in 1603, when Viceroy Velasco dispossessed the *regidores* whose election was alleged to have been effected with great scandal.²⁸ In case a man thought to be incapable had more votes than one regarded as capable, the latter might be declared elected—a rule especially operative, it has been supposed in the elections of the *alcaldes ordinarios*.²⁹ Royal officials were expressly forbidden to solicit votes. The law protected the meetings against official intimidation through violence and provided elaborately for the preparation and safe-guarding of the records. These restrictions and protections were necessary, as Solórzano assures us, for some governors and royal officials sought to reduce everything to their will.³⁰

Alcaldes ordinarios and *regidores* were resident land holders, free from indebtedness to the *real hacienda*, and free from indictment before the inquisition. The *alcalde* was supposed to know how to read and write, though this requirement does not seem to have been enforced.³¹ An interval of two years was supposed to elapse before an individual who has served in one of these capacities was re-eligible for choice to either of them, though in a few cases there is evidence that *alcaldes*, one or both, were drawn from out-going *regidores*. During the interval mentioned the *alcaldes* and certain of the *regidores* were required to undergo the *residencia*. During a considerable period, in the city of Santiago de Chile, the members of the cabildo were equally drawn from the respective groups of *encomenderos* or *vecinos* and *moradores*.³² In view of the social and economic activities of the

²⁷ *Recop.*, Lib. 4, tit. 9, leyes 7, 10, 12. For an interesting account of an election, see V. G. Quesada, *Crónicas Potosinas*, I, 383 ff.

²⁸ Solórzano, p. 254.

²⁹ *Recop.*, Lib. 5, tit. 3, ley 10; also cédula, 1703. Cf. Art. 11 of Ordenanza de Intendentes.

³⁰ Solórzano, pp. 255-6

³¹ *Recop.*, Lib. 5, tit. 3, ley 4.

³² Cf. Solórzano, p. 253.

cabildo, it is important to take notice that neither the *regidores* nor the *alcaldes* were permitted to have an interest in retail selling establishments, since they had a control over markets, shops, and inns, and since they had power to fix prices at a just rate. The cabildo contained the elective *alcaldes* and *regidores* not only, but on occasion two other classes of members. The government, that is, the crown and its representatives, sometimes appointed men, as a reward for meritorious service, to seats in the cabildo. They became the *regidores perpetuos*, having an equal vote. Then there were *reales oficiales* who had, *ex officio*, membership in it. Thus, in Santiago, in 1603, the cabildo was composed of regularly chosen members, certain *regidores perpetuos*, and a *contador*, a *factor y veedor*, an *alguacil mayor*, and a *depositario general*. From this practice arose the charge that the cabildo could be packed. Some efforts were made in the colonies to reform the electoral procedure. Once in Santiago, the cabildo submitted to the governor the proposition to have one of the *alcaldes ordinarios* elected popularly, which he promptly vetoed.³³ There, also, probably to avoid the pressure that was brought to bear at election times, the cabildo agreed to vote in secret ballot.³⁴ They resolved also that only those who had been *regidores* were in the future to be elected as *alcaldes*. Such a movement also occurred at Lima in 1620. After the installation of the cabildo, following election, it usually proceeded to elect from its own membership or from the resident citizenry certain administrative officials such as the *alférez real*, the *tesorero de iglesia*, *alcalde de hermandad*, the *juez y tenedor de bienes de difuntos*, the *alcalde de las aguas*, the *fieles ejecutores* (many writers describe these officers as having duties "análogos á las de los ediles cereales del Derecho Romano), the *procurador*, and on occasion others.

As has already been mentioned, the law of 1620, relative to the sale of the offices of the *regimiento*, has been pretty generally assumed to have had a dispiriting effect upon municipal life and ideals. In the opportunity for gain, office-holding having

³³ *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, VII. Nov. 28, 1608.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

been made a business, ideals of duty, patriotism, and good administration were abandoned. In the *Recopilación*, the reasons stated for the change were that inconveniences had been experienced and that the sale of these offices was customary in Castile.³⁵ It was ordered that in the awarding of the office, after bids had been made in public auction, consideration should be given men of capacity, and, whenever possible, to original settlers and their descendants. In an often quoted passage, Juan A. García says of this policy of selling these offices that it "violated all notions of good order and administration. By selling offices the government admitted implicitly that its affairs were exploitable—that they were articles of commerce. The evil which this tradition has wrought is incredible. It is the root of our political decadence."³⁶ In another place he remarked, "La práctica abominable de vender los oficios concejiles completó la ruina del sistema municipal." That these offices were sold is true, and probably with something of the effect and influence so forcefully stated by García—especially does this seem to have been the case in Buenos Aires;—but it is also true that the law of 1620 was not always enforced as the following excerpt, wherein an election in 1654 in Santiago was reported with unusual fullness, indicates.

Elección.—En la muy noble y leal ciudad de Santiago de Chile, en primera día del mes de enero de mill y seiscientos y cincuenta y cuatro años, los señores Cabildo, Justicia y Regimiento desta ciudad de Santiago de Chile, estando juntos in su ayuntamiento, como lo han de costumbre, para de elección de alcaldes ordinarios y de cinco regidores, a saber: [there follow names of incumbent cabildo]

Notificación al Cabildo.—Y habiéndose notificado y hecho saber á los dechos señores deste Cabildo un auto proveído por los señores desta Real Audiencia, en que mandan se elijan dos regidores de moradores

³⁵ *Recop.*, Lib. 8, tit. 20, ley 7. Preamble: Por haberse experimentado los inconvenientes que resultan de darse por elección y suertes los oficios de regidores, conformándonos con la costumbre universal de nuestras Indias, y que se observa en estos reinos de Castilla: . . . Laws had already been enacted in 1522, 1557, 1581, 1594, and 1615 respecting the sale of certain of the local, administrative offices. The income from these sales went to the *real hacienda*.

³⁶ García, *La Ciudad Indiana*, pp. 169-170.

y tres de vecinos, este año de mill y siescientos y cincuenta y cuatro, y se les dio noticia que elijan en vecinos, como se ordenó y mando el año pasado . . . ; y habiendo cada uno de dichos señores del Cabildo dado un papel que se echó en una salvilla; fueron á abrirlos el señor oidor, el señor Corregidor y los dos señores alcaldes ordinarios.

Salieron electos: por alcalde ordinario de vecinos don — — con catorce votos.

Alcalde ordinario de moradores maestro de campo don — —, con catorce votos.

Regidores de vecinos feudatarios, capitan don — —, con catorce votos.

General don, — —, con trece votos.

Capitan don — —, con catorce votos.

Regidores, de moradores, sargento mayor don — —, con diez votos.

Don — —, con diez votos.³⁷

Another phase of the Spanish municipal government in the colonies was the *cabildo abierto* or the town meeting, as it has been called, at which the entire body or a part of the resident citizenry was invited or summoned to attend. They were held to deal popularly with matters and situations unforeseen by the law, to adopt policies in time of crisis, to raise troops, to receive important information and communications, to give notice of new taxes, and for other purposes. Opinion respecting this famous custom—it might perhaps be called an institution itself—will be considered later.

The cabildos did not develop or exercise the same degree of power, though the unfriendly critics do not as a rule make this distinction, considering them all weak. None the less, it appears to the writer as true that some of the cabildos were strong as well as that others were comparatively weak. Many factors entered into this result. Some cities were isolated, having poor facilities of communication, a fact which, according to some, prevented efficient supervision and ready interference; some had a citizenry of particular individualistic assertiveness; some were situated in agricultural areas, which as compared to the mining areas, were neglected by Spain; and some had their political and

³⁷ *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, XIV. 380-381.

social character affected by the ease or difficulty with which the Indians were conquered. Between such extremes of circumstance and nature lie the explanation and causes, partially at least, of strength and weakness. It has already been observed that the powers and duties of the *cabildos* may be analyzed in general as political, judicial, economic, social, and religious. Two of the members, the *alcaldes ordinarios*, were, of course, judges in civil and criminal cases of first instance; and the *cabildo*, as a whole, in *camara*, acted as a court in such cases as, under the specifications and regulations laid down in the laws of the Council of the Indies, were taken to it on appeal from the *alcaldes*.³⁸ On the other hand, as a council, the *cabildo* legislated for the local needs, subject to the annulment of the higher authorities. For purposes of brevity, the political powers and activities of the *cabildo* are summarized as follows: 1. It had control of the police and the field of primary correctional justice. 2. It had control of certain public works. 3. It exercised powers of inspection over jails, hospitals, drainage ditches, etc., 4. It initiated certain policies, such as, for instance, the punishment of witchcraft.³⁹ 5. It admitted and expelled people to and from its citizenship. 6. It was an organ of communication between the people and the royal government, usually in the *cabildo abierto*. 7. Its *sala* was the place for the verification of credentials, the reading and proclamation of commissions, the announcement locally of royal decrees. 8. It had the right of petition and protest to *audiencia*, *Junta Superior*, viceroy, Council of the Indies, and the king. 9. It had partial control of local militia, though this was indefinite and a source of controversy. 10. One of its duties was to contribute to the protection of the frontier. 11. It had a right to appoint *procuradores* to defend its interests.⁴⁰ On the death of a governor, one of its members, an *alcalde*, was supposed to succeed to his authority, although this was of little significance, for there was usually a lieutenant to take the gover-

³⁸ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74. *Recop.*, Lib. 5, tit. 12, ley 17; ley 20; and ley 18.

³⁹ *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, 1552 and 1575.

⁴⁰ *Recop.*, Lib. 4, tit. 11, leyes 1-5. Del Valle (*Derecho Constitucional*, p. 31) sums up duties as "electorales, deliberantes, administrativas, y contenciosas."

nor's place and, if not, the *audiencia* was likely to grasp the command. Exactly this situation developed in Buenos Aires in 1715, when, lacking a governor, after Colonel Alonso de Arce y Soria, there occurred a three-sided conflict between Bermúdez, nominee of Judge Mutiloa, the cabildo, and Captain Barrancos, the leader of the military.⁴¹ A similar crisis occurred in Caracas in 1675. The cabildo was, in the opinion of its defenders, the medium for the expression of public will in opposition to misrule. There are dramatic instances when the cabildos, singly or in league, led armed resistance to royal officials, in Paraguay, Upper Perú, and New Granada. Also, the cabildos of Buenos Aires, Asunción, Córdoba, Corrientes, Jujuy, Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, and Salta, from time to time, resisted usurpation and illegal military service, denounced misgovernment, and stood staunchly for local rights.⁴² Sarmiento makes the cabildo of Córdoba carry on a struggle for liberties covering a period of two centuries.⁴³ Examples of the resistance of the cabildos to the agents of the royal government may be found in Ramos Mejía, Lozano, Mitre, Funes, Bauza, Lorente, and others. Francisco Ramos Mejía sums up the case for the cabildo in this respect by saying, "Lejos de ser administrativamente serviles, disputaban sus prerrogativas á los gobernadores e iban en ocasiones hasta desconocerlas salvando en otras con su proceder enérgico conflictos de consideración".⁴⁴ With respect to these political powers, Andrés Bello wrote:

The metropolitan distrust placed particular merit in depressing and despoiling these bodies of all real importance; but in spite of this prolonged effort which sought to reduce them to a pale shadow of what they were in the first century of the conquest, composed of members in whose election the people had no part, treated harshly by the authorities and at times reviled, it never abdicated the character of representatives of

⁴¹ Zinny, *op. cit.*, I. 42. Cf. J. Gil Fortoul, *Historia Constitucional*, I. 61.

⁴² F. Ramos Mejía, *op. cit.*, 185 *et seq.* Trelles in *Revista del Archivo General*, t. II, 228 *et seq.* A. Granillo, *Provincia de Tucuman*; F. Espeche, *La Provincia de Catamarca*; V. G. Quesada, *La Provincia de Corrientes*. R. J. Cárcano, *El Gobierno de Tucuman*.

⁴³ Sarmiento, *Conflicto y armonías de las razas*, ch. II, especially pp. 152 ff.

⁴⁴ F. Ramos Mejía, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

the people and was seen to defend with boldness the interests of the communities on repeated occasions.⁴⁵

Also the following from Bauza:

To the cabildo is due the idea of the representative system and the first glimpse of the division of power. From the time when they took upon themselves the conduct of public affairs, the people observed that not everything depended on the comprehensive authority of the military chief, and, as a consequence, the rudiments of a system of government more complex than the one-man power began to permeate all minds. Soon the exercise of the right of petition before the cabildos became customary, and from this they advanced to the practice of petitioning the governors. The election of members of the corporation, although carried out in an imperfect way succeeded in increasing interest among the citizens, who even if they only contributed to the election as spectators, did not by that fail to show their satisfaction in so far as the act and its result agreed with their views. The conduct of the members of the cabildo will always be a subject for applause, that although authorized during many years to elect their successors, they never nominated such as were traitors to the common interests. Thus, by means of these humble and persecuted corporations, public spirit in Uruguay was born, and the inhabitants created a criterion, in accordance with which power should be exercised for the benefit of all in a regulated, equitable, and beneficent manner.⁴⁶

In addition to the powers claimed as having been practically exercised, there are those that belong to the cabildo as potential. Perhaps the opinion of the cabildo in this respect can be compressed into the statement that should royal government collapse under misfortune or disaster, the cabildo, being a self-perpetuating body, and being close to the people through the *cabildo abierto*, might become the instrumentality of popular sovereignty, and might, as if by common law, come into the legitimate authority of the state.

The powers of the cabildos in economic and social relations may be catalogued as: 1. They administered certain funds,

⁴⁵ Andrés Bello, *Obras Completas*, VII.

⁴⁶ Bauza, *Historia de la Dominación Española en el Uruguay*, II. 639-640. Passage translated by Professor Moses in his *Spanish Dependencies*, II. 379.

such as the *propios*, *arbitrios*, and the funds of orphans. 2. They had limited powers of taxation, though in general such taxes had to be approved. 3. They made occasional attempts at an educational system. 4. They made regulations for health. 5. They had the duty—and it was a fundamental one for the city—of protecting the food supply. 6. They had the power, though it was most often exercised by the *alcaldes* and one of the *regidores*, of fixing prices on grains, retail commodities, meat, yerba, grease, tallow, etc. They also granted licenses and franchises to establishments dealing in such trades. 7. They sometimes distributed or allotted town lots (*solares*) and sometimes also lands.⁴⁷ They granted building licenses. 8. They made certain regulations respecting herds and registered brands. 9. Some of them, like Buenos Aires, interested themselves in seeking to secure mitigation of the restrictive trade system. If one should admit that the cabildos had little sustained contact with viceregal politics and general administrative problems, there remains the field of local affairs, in which its defenders have observed an intense activity. Of this, Levene, in his *Los orígenes de la democracia argentina*, remarks:

Acaso, de los actos y acontecimientos políticos más importantes y generales de la América española, apenas tuvieron un eco en los acuerdos del Cabildo. La alta política y la alta administración superiores, residen en España y América. Pero los intereses pequeños, las necesidades elementales y urgentes, surgidas de las poblaciones mismos y por ello importantes y significativas, eran atendidas por los Cabildos y ni un solo acto militar, económico, político, fué resuelto sin su intervención.⁴⁸

In its ecclesiastical relations, the cabildo participated in church festivals and processions; it had privileged places and seats in the church building; it contributed to the building of the churches and monasteries; it had the right of inspecting certain charitable agencies; and it sometimes controlled a small part of the church patronage. Some writers represent the cabildo as an opponent

⁴⁷ Cf. F. Ramos Mejía, pp. 172–173.

⁴⁸ Levene, p. 105.

of ecclesiastical pretensions; others have said that its chief function was "á adornir con su presencia las procesiones".

The right and practice of intervention in private business were, of course, inherited from Spain. Springing from the thought, according to García, that all commodities have a just price, that all speculation in supplies is essentially immoral, and that, as it was the imperative duty of the cabildo to see to it that the food supply of the city should be maintained, it was the rightful power to safeguard the public interest by such control and supervision. While the agencies of marketing were under inspection, the producer did not escape scrutiny, especially in the times of scarcity, when—to use modern terms—hoarding and profiteering might thereby be prevented. Thus in a time of famine, all who had wheat, whether of church or state, might be forced to sell it under a kind of law of *maximum*. Nominally they sought a just price, but this often meant a high price scale. Many considerations, other than the law of supply and demand, seem to have entered into this socialistic theory of municipal functions. Many questions of interpretation, of the economic soundness, of the cabildo's disinterestedness, of the finality of its powers, and of its ultimate responsibility might be asked. The laws were inconsistent on this matter as on so many others connected with this subject. Just what was the sphere of the *corregidor*, who had a share in this price-fixing function? The *Recopilación* shows that there was granted to the *alcalde ordinario* a power in his own right, but with him at times a *regidor* was associated. And from time to time the cabildo exercised these powers in *camara*. Here, too, opinions differ on the merits of its interposition, with Levene, for instance, regarding it favorably and García thinking that it defeated its own ends.⁴⁹

We may conclude the statement of the claims of those who affirm that the cabildo was a municipal institution of actual and potential power by quoting again from Ramos Mejía:

En medio del aislamiento en que vivían las ciudades, el Cabildo era la única autoridad popular, la única acción se hacía sentir en las más de

⁴⁹ García, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-147; especially, 146-147; cf. his interesting collection of documents in *Abastos de la Ciudad y campaña de Buenos Aires 1773-1809*.

ellas. Se les veía ejercer las funciones más vitales de la ciudad, la seguridad y la alimentación, pues que eran ellos quienes ejercían la policía y la justicia correccional, corrían el abasto, expendición de víveres y granos y administraban los bienes y rentas del común (López, *Historia Argentina*, tomo, I, página, XII), construían hospitales, iglesias y monasterios, hacían paseos y plazas públicas, casas para el Ayuntamiento, fomentaban la defensa de las fronteras, constituyendo así el verdadero gobierno del distrito.⁵⁰

On the other hand, the unfriendly critics have paralleled these alleged elements of strength with ones of weakness, making in final analysis the cabildo the inferior executing agent of orders derived from a superior power. Indeed, writers like Montes de Oca, Del Valle, Juan A. García, and, in a popular sense, Mitre, have held that the elements of strength were illusory, that there has been built up around the cabildo a legend. Whatever the colonial cabildos were in the beginning, it was contended that they declined; and Mitre goes so far as to say that they became the "sombra de la sombra de los antiguos cabildos libres de la madre patria". Amunátegui lists the defects of the cabildo of Santiago as follows: 1. Election by co-optation was undemocratic. 2. Membership was passed in families, thus constituting an oligarchy, there being few new elements, which made the cabildo like a closed room in which the air was renewed but slowly. 3. There was no protection against packing it with royal nominees. 4. The cabildo members could be fined individually and collectively by the governors.⁵¹ They could also on occasion be imprisoned. There was inadequate protection against the encroachment of royal officials. There are instances when the governors attempted and succeeded in foisting their nominees upon the cabildo despite its complaints and the prohibitions of the law as in the famous conflict between the cabildo of Buenos Aires and Governor Valdez Inclán in 1705. As to judicial administration, Solórzano has stated that the *corregidores* rarely

⁵⁰ *El Federalismo Argentino*, p. 176.

⁵¹ M. L. Amunátegui, *El Cabildo de Santiago*; cf. Del Valle, *Derecho Constitucional*, pp. 42-43.

permitted the *alcaldes ordinarios* to settle a criminal case.⁵² In conflicts with the governors, the cabildos were likely to find the military on the official side. The colonial *Hermandad* was certainly only "the pale shadow" of the Spanish model. Then there was little co-operation between the cities. That is said without discounting the *comunero* movements of the eighteenth century or the two Salta congresses of 1767 and 1776, in which the cabildos were represented.⁵³ García contended that the instances of the real exercise of power by the cabildo and its opportunities for that sort of action were abnormal arising either from the death or the delinquency of officials. An institution should be judged, he held, upon the possession of powers under ordinary circumstances rather than under extraordinary developments. Again, it is held that the isolation of some cabildos might work, and did work, in favor of the isolated royal officials and contributed to the enhancement of his powers as well as those of the cabildo. Further, that the cabildos were uniformly weak in resources, that the income from the *propios* was small and its appropriation largely prescribed, that all new taxes had to receive royal approval, that its resources had to a considerable extent to be expended unproductively in church festivals and political celebrations.⁵⁴ Some have held that the cabildos were crushed between the royal government on the one side and the church on the other. The conflicts of the cabildo with the church were often reduced to matters of formality and etiquette, as has been shown in the interesting and amusing article of Alberto Jones Brown, *Algunos documentos históricos sobre un conflicto eclesiástico del año 1783*.⁵⁵ The *cabildo abierto* has also been attacked. Of it, García, in *La ciudad Indiana*, wrote: "At first view, by the euphony of the name, it appears that one has come upon a popular assembly, convoked in grave crises, in order to resolve after the ancient and classic manner the affairs of the city. Unfortunately all this does not spring from a simple illusion caused

⁵² Solórzano, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 257. Cf. *Recopilación*, Lib. 5, tit. 2, ley 14.

⁵³ Zinny, *Los Gobernadores*, I, 214-215.

⁵⁴ V. G. Quesada, quoted by García. *La Ciudad Indiana*, pp. 195-198.

⁵⁵ *Revista Histórica* (Montevideo, 1910).

by words, suggested also by the lively desire to find in all phases of history the holy germs of democracy."⁵⁶ While admitting that the *cabildo abierto* was sometimes held to deal with important matters, he states that in general it was convened in order that the people should receive the orders of the government, not to deliberate over policy. Often it was limited to a few people, and frequently the occasion for it was the reception of a new governor or news of an additional tax.⁵⁷

Important changes followed the creation of the office of *intendente* and the promulgation of the famous *ordenanza* of 1782. Viceroy and intendants tended to absorb the powers of the *cabildo*. Such important powers as the control and administration of the *propios*, cleaning of streets, inspection of public buildings, the fixing of prices, the control of the police, and the administration of local justice tended to pass into the hands of the intendant or his *asesor letrado*. There were many bitter complaints, for the new officials invaded powers not only, but failed to show respect for the ceremonials prescribed in the old system.⁵⁸

What is to be said of the truth involved in these alternate positions? It would be trite, perhaps, to observe that there is truth on both sides. Take the charge of Dr. José M. Ramos Mejía that the *cabildos* promoted anarchy and instilled the spirit of rebellion. "Detras del Cabildo comienza á diseñarse la muchedumbre. El tumulto substituye al voto, el tropel al paso tranquilo y firme del Adelantado ó del Preboste; . . .".⁵⁹ Yet it is certainly true that the *cabildos* were often more loyal than the royal officials and on some occasions in Buenos Aires, Corrientes, and Asunción stood squarely for the law. On the other hand, take the claim that they were representative bodies.

⁵⁶ García, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁵⁷ In 1575, at Santiago de Chile, a *cabildo abierto* was convened to adopt measures to prevent bulls from escaping from the pens where they were awaiting the time of the bull fights. On the other hand *cf.* report on *cabildo abierto* in Buenos Aires, 1615, *Acuerdos*, t. 3, 200. For that of 1633, *cf.* Del Valle, *op. cit.*, 36-39.

⁵⁸ Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano*, L. V. López, *Lecciones de historia argentina*, J. M. Estrada, *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*.

⁵⁹ J. M. Ramos Mejía, *Las Multitudes Argentinas*, p. 49.

Unless one indulges in the subtleties of "virtual representation", this idea does not merit serious attention. Yet in the *cabildo abierto*, there was the possibility that the cabildo might receive the mandate of the people. On the question of the strength or weakness of the institution, again, there seems evidence of a conflicting import, with weakness the normal fact and strength the unusual circumstance and a matter of potential development. The divergence of thought on this institution suggests, further, as has so often been the case in history and political controversy, the use of the colonial cabildo on one or the other side in the rival philosophies of federalism and unitary consolidation, these being present, perhaps, eternal issues. In the opinion of the writer, the cabildo has had in some countries the positive influence for federalism claimed by some of its apologists. Yet for the federalist, there is the problem, so keenly appreciated by the great philosopher Alberdi, of transferring the vitality, the local loyalties, and the highly complex social functions and relations from the city where during the colonial period they seemed real to the province or republican "state" where they are artificial. This, like much of the rest, is based upon too slight a research for conclusive demonstration. With respect to the colonial cabildo, the following are offered as tentative impressions: First, that many writers have over-emphasized the representative elements in the composition of the cabildo and, further, that many of the instances cited by apologists of the institution as examples of demonstrable strength were accidental and circumstantial rather than evidences of powers inherent. Secondly, that some of the sociologists by emphasizing the real social and economic activities of the cabildo have imputed perhaps too great political powers to it. Thirdly, the critics by dwelling on the weaknesses have seemed to leave too much out of consideration the potential powers.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.

SOCIAL LIFE IN BRAZIL IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

. . . l'histoire intime; c'est ce
roman vrai que la posterité appellera
peut-être un jour l'histoire humaine.
—LES GONCOURTS.

The following essay is an attempt to make clear to myself what the Brazil of the middle of the nineteenth century was like or, to use Walter Pater's words when asked what he studied history for, to know "how people lived, what they wore and what they looked like". In a way, the preparation for it was unconsciously begun years ago when, as a child, I used to ask questions of my grandmother about the "good old days". She was then the only one in our family to admit that the old days had been good; the others seemed to be all "futurists" and "post-impressionists" of some kind or other. But in studying, more recently, my grandmother's days, I have approached them neither to praise nor to blame—only to taste the joy of understanding the old social order.

To do this was even a more difficult task than I had imagined it to be. I had to fight my way through the accounts of prejudiced, uncritical, and superficial minds—through periodicals, lithogravures, manuscripts, books of travel, and diaries. I turned to foreigners as the most dependable of all the social critics of the period—a period about which Brazilian writers have written either to glorify or to blame, never with a fair spirit of criticism. I found my material in the Hispano-americana of Dr. Oliveira Lima in the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress. Dr. Oliveira Lima's Library—probably the most select of its kind in America or Europe—has not yet been opened to the public and I owe to his kindness the honor of having been the first investigator to use it.

Some of the facts inserted in this essay were gathered from survivors of the old order, among them Mrs. Richard Rundle, of New York and formerly of Rio de Janeiro. The description of student life in Pernambuco is based on what I heard from Dr. João Vicente Costa, of Pernambuco.

It is a commonplace that the years 1848–1864 mark, in the history of Brazil, an era of peace, conformity, and decorum in public affairs. The student of the period is impressed by other less obvious features: the sound condition of public finance; the slow but definite material progress; the crude technique of production; the important part played by religion in practically every phase of social life; the disregard in all parts of the Empire, even in Rio de Janeiro, for the commonplaces of public hygiene; the attachment to traditions of which the Brazilian had not learned to be ashamed; the corruption among the clergy; the lack of sap in literature; and the almost total absence of critical thought.

From 1848 to 1856 the Empire increased in economic well being. The "Codigo Commercial", put into effect in 1850, was a good stimulant for business; so was the law authorizing the Bank of Brazil to issue circulating notes, thus extending facilities for credit. Statistics show that foreign commerce—the export of coffee, sugar, cotton, hides, rum, rosewood, and cattle horns—more than doubled between 1849 and 1856. According to a foreign observer "from 1850 to 1860, inclusive, the great tropical staples of coffee, sugar, cotton, and tobacco, actually increased more than thirty per cent".¹ Budgetary conditions of the period—so fully described by the Count Auguste van der Straten-Ponthoz in his work *Le Budget du Brésil*—reflect the sanity of the general economic situation, though the mode of taxation was anything but perfect. Oliveira Lima says that by 1860 the Empire "had acquired its full vigor", after a decade of domestic peace, and of increase in agricultural production and foreign trade.²

¹ Fletcher in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil and the Brazilians*, p. 139.

² Oliveira Lima, *Machado de Assis et son oeuvre litteraire*, p. 41.

In their material environment and, to a certain extent, in their social life, the majority of Brazilians of the fifties were in the Middle Ages: the élite only was living in the eighteenth century. Only a few men, such as the emperor himself, and a few women, such as Nisia Floresta, were conscious of the Europe of John Stuart Mill, hoop-skirts, Sir Charles Lyell, George Sand, four-wheeled English carriages, and Pius IX. Politically the English type of government was the model after which a sensible, and even sophisticated, oligarchy, in whose power the stern emperor often intruded like a big moral policeman, governed the country. Among some of those oligarchs such subtleties and nuances of political theory as "what is the nature and what are the limits of the moderating power in a parliamentary monarchy?" were often discussed. But more practical subjects occupied their attention: the better administration of civil justice, the building of railways, the relations with the boisterous republics to the south, the slave trade. They were studious and took their responsibilities seriously. The imperial senate was, during the fifties and early sixties, an assembly of brilliant minds. Machado de Assis has left us a graphic description of the senate he knew in 1860—the senate of the old Marquis of Itanhaem, of Rio Branco, Nabuco de Araujo, Zacarias de Goes—a place where public affairs were discussed in an able, entertaining, sometimes caustic, but always dignified, way.

As in the *ante-bellum* South of the United States, the best intelligences of Brazil in the fifties and sixties were engaged in politics, Literature, sandwiched between politics and journalism, was a very watery and thin filler; no pungency, no original flavor. It is true that in the late fifties, Indianism began to appear in the poems of Gonsalves Dias and the novels of Alençar; but most of it was insincere and full of false notes. As to critical thought there was none in philosophy, literature, or religion; there was some in political writers: Zacarias de Goes, Viscount de Uruguay and, in the late sixties, Tavares Bastos. But it was only in the seventies that a restless group of "young intellectuals" was to arise in Pernambuco, under the shadow of its law school, to color Brazilian life with an infusion of their own youth mixed with much of ill-digested European influences.

In an examination of the economic structure of Brazilian society in the middle of the nineteenth century we find on one side a class of landowners and slaveholders; on the other, the mass of slaves, and between the two a few "petits bourgeois" and small farmers, not counting the bureaucracy and leaving out the mercantile interests—the bulk of which was foreign. A sort of mediæval landlordism prevailed. Land was owned by coffee planters in the south, cattle-proprietors in the inland provinces and Rio Grande do Sul, by *senhores de engenho* (sugar planters) in the Northeast, especially in Pernambuco. Along the coast and in scattered points of the interior were extensive monastic estates. The class of small farmers were the "*roceiros*", not a few of whom were colored freedmen. Most of the *petite bourgeoisie* was composed of *marinheiros*, or newly arrived Portuguese. Some of these were able to rise, by their perseverance, from being keepers of kiosks or small grocerships, and *mascates*, or peddlers, to the comfortable merchant class—the fathers of future statesmen, diplomats, and judges. The liberalism of the empire, so eager to recognize individual merit, was favorable to newcomers.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the population of Brazil was, roughly speaking, seven millions. J. L. Maré, in his book *Le Brésil en 1852 et sa colonization future*, estimated it as six to seven millions. In an article published in *O Diario* (Rio de Janeiro), on December 11, 1847, F. Nunes de Souza, a Brazilian statistician, assumed the population of the country to be, then, 7,360,000. Of these he classed 2,120,000 as whites: 1,100,000 as free colored, 3,120,000 as negro slaves, 180,000 as free native African, and 800,000 as Indians. Miscegenation was going on freely. As early as 1818 or 1819 the French naturalist Auguste de Saint-Hilaire found such a mixture of races in São Paulo that he described it as an "étrange bigarrure d'où resultent des complications également embarrassantes pour l'administration et dangereuses pour la morale publique".³ Alfred R. Wallace found in Para "a most varied and interesting mixture of races". "There is," he writes, "the fresh-colored Englishman, who seems

³ Saint-Hilaire, *Voyages dans les Provinces de Saint Paul et Saint Catharine*, I. 124.

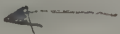
to thrive as well here as in the cooler climates of his country, the sallow American, the swarthy Portuguese, the more corpulent Brazilian, the merry Negro and the apathetic but finely formed Indian; and between these a hundred shades and mixtures which it requires an experienced eye to detect."⁴ The American, C. S. Stewart, U. S. N., who visited Brazil in the early fifties, was surprised at "the fearfully mongrel aspect of the population".⁵

The bulk of the population lived on the coast, but one inland province, Minas Geraes, had become very populous since the eighteenth century. In Nunes de Souza's statistics, Minas Geraes is given 1,130,000 inhabitants. That vast province had been settled by *garimpereiros*, or gold-hunters—men from São Paulo, restless and virile. Saint-Hilaire calls them "une nuée d'aventuriers". By the middle of the nineteenth century the once active towns of Minas Geraes were declining or, at least, stagnant. Villa Rica was but the shadow of what it had been. The province was becoming agricultural and its moral conditions, which had been so bad during the gold fever and in the early part of the century, were now improving. The Catholic Church, extending from Mariana the tentacles of its moral discipline, was softening the rough-mannered pioneer, who now said the *Benedicite* before his meals.

São Paulo was perhaps the most prosperous province during the decade 1850–1860. Its population reached in 1847, 800,000—as much as Pernambuco. Its capital had become, as far as material progress goes, one of the best cities in the empire. Its houses were attractive and its streets wide and straight. Around the city there were the *chacaras*, or country-houses, surrounded by *jabuticabeiras* and other fruit trees and farther inland, the *fazendas*, or coffee estates, where symmetrical rows of coffee trees extended for miles. The prosperity of São Paulo during the fifties is explained by the increase in the exports of coffee. In June of 1855, 206,002 bags of coffee were exported from Rio de Janeiro; in June of 1856, 178,444.⁶ As to its intellectual

⁴ Alfred R. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 8.

⁵ C. S. Stewart, *The Personal Record of a Cruise*, p. 72.

⁶ "The Brazils", in *The London Times*, August 11, 1856. 

activity, which centered in the Law School, São Paulo was inferior to Pernambuco: it was inferior to Pernambuco, to Bahia, and of course to the metropolis, in social life.

The agricultural progress of Pernambuco during the fifties was also marked. Its production of sugar increased from 10,000 tons, in 1821, to 70,000, in 1853,⁷ making Recife the greatest sugarmart in the empire. The bulk of the sugar came from those *engenhos*, or sugar-estates, around the Villa das Flores, in the region known as *matta*. From Recife to the river Una there were, by 1855, some three hundred large sugar-plantations. The owners of those estates lived in a sort of baronial style, forming a homogeneous class in respect to their economic interests, social life, and politics. They ruled over their estates, and over the small towns, in a true feudal way. Were not they the descendants of those arrogant planters who expelled to Bahia, in 1666, a captain-general, or colonial governor, sent by the metropolis? With them the aristocratic manner and manners went back for generations. They were descended from some of the best blood of Portugal and it was through their ancestors that the vague thing we call culture first reached Portuguese America. During the forties, fifties, and early sixties the refinement of life and manners came to flower once more in Pernambuco, thanks to that gentleman-scholar, Governor Baron da Boa Vista. The women dressed well; the receptions in the governor's palace were brilliant, and brilliant were the performances in the theater of Santa Isabel, and the ceremonies in the church of Espirito Santo. A writer of the period calls attention to "le luxe, qui commence à prendre un certain développement à Pernambouc."⁸

Bahia was, economically, the rival of Pernambuco. It has some sugar-estates but was more important as a center of cotton and tobacco culture. Manufactures were developing there and an American traveler describes a cotton factory that he visited in Valença—probably the best one then existing in Brazil. In 1851 the revenue of Bahia was 4,784,600 milreis while that of Pernambuco was 4,639,427 milreis.⁹ But later on the cholera

⁷ William Hadfield, *Brazil, The River Plate and the Falkland Islands*, p. 103.

⁸ Cavallo, *Etudes sur le Brésil*, p. 50.

⁹ Hadfield, *ut supra*, p. 127.

epidemic made itself felt in Bahia in a more deadly way than anywhere else in Brazil. Many slaves died in the years of 1855 and 1856;¹⁰ hence the economic crisis that followed and affected not only Bahia exports but coffee as well.

To the Brazilian of the fifties the country to the west of Minas Geraes, Pernambuco and Bahia—the *sertão*—was a region of even greater mystery and fear than to the later-day Brazilian. It was free from any policing: law and even Dom Pedro meant nothing to its inhabitants. Taxation among them, for instance, was impossible in those days: no system of tax-gathering was suave enough for their scruples of independence. We are told by an English observer, writing in 1860, of an experiment at collecting duties on hides in the *sertão* of Pernambuco. "The sertanejos caught the miserable tax-gatherer with the same glee that a Galway mob would seize a process-server, tripped him, killed a bullock, sewed him up in it with his head protruding, and sent him back with the Spartan message 'If the emperor wants beef, let his man take it with him' ".¹¹

The *sertanejo* of the fifties was even more picturesque than the *sertanejo* of today, whom Euclýdes da Cunha has so vividly described in *O Sertão*. In the fifties he wore an "enormous stock of hair", a "battered steeple-crowned hat", and a cotton shirt and breeches. The Reverend Doctor Fletcher describes the entering of a family of "sertanejos" into Recife, where they came to sell their cotton and hides, having to travel from fifteen to twenty days before reaching the coast. The man rode "perched upon a couple of oblong cotton-bags strapped parallel to his horse's sides, followed by his train of a dozen horses or mules, loaded, in the same way, with cotton or sugar. A monkey, with a clog tied to his waist, surmounts one in place of the driver; parrot and his wife another: and a large brass-throated macaw with a stiff blue coat of feathers another."¹² These caravans were a sight that city children enjoyed watching: I remember

¹⁰ Cawalls says (p. 8) that "on evalúe a plus de 60,000 le nombre d'esclaves que le cholera a enlevés dans le Brésil".

¹¹ *Brazil: Its History, People, Natural Resources*. Anonymous.

¹² Fletcher in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil*, p. 522.

having heard my grandmother refer to them as one of the colorful memories of her childhood.

Mention must be made, of course, of Rio de Janeiro. By the middle of the nineteenth century that province was the first in population with 1,500,000 inhabitants. Scattered in it there were foreign colonies, some of which were prospering. They were composed of Germans and German Swiss. That of Petropolis counted 2,565 members. Its condition was good, the colonists specializing in the cultivation of corn and potatoes and in the manufacture of butter and cream cheese. So did the colonists of Nova Friburgo, who were 2,000 in number.¹³

Manufacturing interests were concentrated in Rio de Janeiro, around the *corte*, or the capital of the empire. Of the seventy-two factories that existed in Brazil, for the manufacture of hats, candle, soap, beer, cigars, and cotton, fifty-two were located in the province of Rio de Janeiro. The remaining were distributed as follows: in Bahia ten, Pernambuco four, Maranhao two, and São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Parana, and São Pedro, one each.¹⁴ These manufacturing interests were mostly in the hands of aliens. The labor itself was partly foreign. The porcelain factory in Minas Geraes had expert workers brought from the famous establishments of Saxony.¹⁵ But free negroes and mulattoes were often employed. Fletcher saw in a cotton-factory in Valença, Bahia, "the whole operation of modeling, and finishing, performed by negroes".¹⁶ Even the foreman of the foundry was a Brazilian negro. Negroes became skilful in more delicate industries such as the making of artificial flowers with feathers—an industry of which the French traveler Max Radiguet wrote that it "semble avoir atteint son apogée à Rio Janeiro".¹⁷ Mme. Ida Pfeiffer was surprised to find in the "ateliers" of Rio de Janeiro, "les plus distingués des noirs occupés à confectionner

¹³ Full information in regard to the foreign colonies in south Brazil is to be found in an *Appendice* to Van der Stratan-Ponthoz's *Le Budget du Brésil*, Bruxelles, 1854.

¹⁴ Cavallo, *Etudes sur le Brésil*, p. 57.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁶ Fletcher in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil*, p. 499.

¹⁷ Radiguet, *Souvenirs de l'Amérique Espagnole*, p. 255.

des habits, des souliers, des ouvrages de tapisseries, des broderies d'or et d'argent. Plus d'une negresse assez bien habillée travaillait aux toilettes de femmes les plus elegants et aux broderies les plus delicates."¹⁸

It was in the fifties that the first railways were built in Brazil but only in the seventies did they become a serious factor in the economic and social life of the country. By 1858 the Dom Pedro Railway had only extended twenty-seven miles. Railways were in construction in São Paulo, Bahia, and Pernambuco. But most of the traveling was still done by water, or, when this was impossible, on horse and mule back or by ox cart. Count van der Straten-Ponthoz writing in 1854 remarked that "au Brésil tous les transports s'exécutent péniblement à dos de mulet". The president of the province of Goyaz—we are told by the same author—had to travel for three months to arrive from Rio de Janeiro at the capital of his province. Caravans of goods traveled for five months before reaching the capital of Matto Grosso from Rio de Janeiro.

Steam navigation made notable progress in Brazil during the fifties. It was followed by improvements in the towns it touched. Para, for instance, gained much from the line of regular steamers on the Amazon, inaugurated in 1854. Such luxuries as camphene lights and macadam generally followed steam-navigation. Hence the progress noted by foreign observers in coast and riverside towns. The others were hardly affected by any touch of progress until railways penetrated the country. They remained truly medieval—no public lighting, no street cleaning, no macadam. And medieval they were in their customs and in their relations to the great landowners around whose estates the towns and villages were scattered.

The power of the great planters was indeed feudalistic, their patriarchalism being hardly restricted by civil laws. Fletcher, who traveled through the interior of Brazil, wrote: "The proprietor of a sugar or cattle estate is, practically, an absolute lord." And he adds: "The community that lives in the shadow

¹⁸ Ida Pfeiffer, *Voyages autour du Monde*, p. 11.

of so great a man is his feudal retinue: and, by the conspiracy of a few such men, who are thus able to bring scores of lieges and partisans into the field, the quiet of the province was formerly more than disturbed by revolts which gave the government much trouble."¹⁹ Oliveira Lima says that those communities living in the shadow of the great planters were very heterogeneous: he compares them to the army of lieges that the Portuguese nobles of the eighteenth century kept in their states: *bravi* or rascals, bull fighters, friars, guitarists, etc. The large Brazilian estate was a self-sustaining unit—economically and socially—depending little on the world outside its large wood gates. It had its cane-fields or its coffee-plantations, and plantations of mandioc, black beans, and other produce, for its own consumption. Its population included, besides the owner and his family, *feitores*, or overseers, *vaqueiros*, or shepherds, sometimes a chaplain and a tutor, carpenters, smiths, masons, and a multitude of slaves. Fletcher visited a coffee estate in Minas Geraes which contained an area of sixty-four square miles. Besides the rows of coffee trees he noticed large tracts of mandioc, cotton and sugar, an abundance of cattle, and one hundred and fifty hives with bees. "Of all the articles mentioned above," Doctor Fletcher informs us, "not one finds its way to the market. They are for the sustenance and clothing of the slaves, of whom the Commendador formerly had seven hundred."²⁰ In the large sugar estates of Pernambuco, scattered between Recife and the Una river, and against whose feudalistic powers the revolution of 1848 is said to have been a protest, certain domestic industries developed along with agricultural activities, among them the making of wines from *genipapo*, the making of charqui, or jerked beef, cream cheese, and, of course, all sorts of sweetmeats and cakes. These activities were superintended by the "old missus" herself.

The work people of the plantations were well-fed, and attended to by their master and mistress as a "large family of children". They had three meals a day and a little rum (*caraca*) in the morn-

¹⁹ Fletcher in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil*, p. 522.

²⁰ *Idem.*, p. 440.

ing. Their breakfast consisted of farina or *pirão*, with fruits and rum; at midday they were given a very substantial meal of meat or fish; in the evening, black beans, rice, and vegetables. On holidays it was customary on certain estates to have an ox killed for the slaves and a quantity of rum was given to make them merry. Then they would dance the sensuous measures of the *batuque* or other African dances or sing or play the *marimba*.

As a rule the slaves were not overworked in the households either in the plantations or in the city. It is true that much was being said in the fifties, of cruel treatment of slaves in Brazil, by the British anti-slavery propaganda. Later on the British dark account of conditions was to be repeated in Brazil by Brazilian anti-slavery orators such as the young Nabuco and Sr. Ruy Barbosa—men inflamed by the bourgeois idealism of Wilberforce as well as by a very human desire for personal glory—and they did it in so emphatic a language that the average Brazilian believes today that slavery was really cruel in his country. The powerful fancy won over reality. For, as a matter of fact, slavery in Brazil was anything but cruel. The Brazilian slave lived the life of a cherub if we contrast his lot with that of the English and other European factory-worker in the middle of the last century. Alfred R. Wallace—an abolitionist—found the slaves in a sugar plantation he visited in North Brazil “as happy as children”. He adds: “They have no care and no wants, they are provided for in sickness and old age, their children are never separated from their wives, except under such circumstances as would render them liable to the same separation, were they free, by the laws of the country.”²¹ As to conditions in the south of the Empire, an American observer, unsympathetic and even hostile towards the Brazilians, gives the following account: “As a rule, in the Southern part of Brazil, slaves were fairly treated and generally had much more liberty than was compatible with very efficient service though I have known cases of individual cruelty which have made my blood boil with indignation.”²² Doctor Rendu wrote that “en général les Brésiliens

²¹ Wallace, *A narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 120.

²² R. Cleary, “Brazil under the monarchy” (manuscript), p. 152.

ne surchargent pas leurs esclaves de travail".²³ The Reverend Walter Colton, U. S. N., found the slaves in Brazil "generally treated with kindness and humanity by their masters".²⁴ Mme. Ida Pfeiffer, who visited Brazil in the late forties, writes in her famous book: "I am almost convinced that, on the whole, the lot of these slaves is less wretched than that of the peasants of Russia, Poland or Egypt, who are not called slaves."²⁵ But it is an English clergyman—the Reverend Hamlet Clark, M.A., who strikes the most radical note: "Nay indeed, we need not go far to find in free England the absolute counterpart of slavery: Manighew's London Labour, and London Poor, Dicken's *Oliver Twist*, Hood's *Song of the Shirt* and many other revelations tell of a grinding, flinty-hearted despotism that Brazilian slave-owners never can approach."²⁶ As Professor Hayes points out, in England, "audiences wept at hearing how cruel masters licked their cowering slaves in Jamaica: but in their own England little Englishmen and Englishwomen ten years old were being whipped to their work," sometimes "in the factories of some of the anti-slavery orators".

At sunset the whistle of the sugar-mill closed the day's work on the Brazilian plantation. The workpeople came then for their last meal, after which they went to bed. But first they came to ask their master's and mistress' blessing: "Benção, nhonho!" "Benção Nhanha!" holding out their right hand. Then the master and the mistress would say: "Deus te abençõe" (God bless you), making at the same time the sign of the cross.

In a typical Brazilian city-home of the higher class—say, the home of a custom-house officer—slaves numbered on the average fifteen or twenty. Since slaves were plentiful, certain necessities, and even luxuries, were produced at home, under the careful oversight of the mistress; cloth was cut and made into dresses, towels and undergarments; wine was distilled; lace and *crivo* (a sort of embroidery) were manufactured. Besides this

²³ Alp. Rendu, *Etudes sur le Brésil*, p. 42.

²⁴ Colton, *Deck and Port*, p. 112.

²⁵ Ida Pfeiffer, *Voyage autour du monde*, p. 18.

²⁶ Clark, *Letters home from Spain, Algeria and Brazil*, p. 160.

the housewife superintended the cooking, the preserving, the baking of cakes, the care of the sick; taught her children and their black playmates the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ave Maria; kept them from mischief and pathological abnormalities—such as eating clay—against which the "log" or the "tin mask" were sometimes employed as punishments.

Slaves were plentiful. The staff of a large city-house included cooks, those trained to serve in the dining room, wet-nurses, water carriers, footmen, chambermaids—the latter sleeping in their mistresses' rooms and assisting them in the minutest details of their toilette, such as picking lice, for instance. Sometimes there were too many slaves. A lady told Doctor Fletcher that she "had nine lazy servants at home for whom there was not employment" and another one that she could not find enough work to keep her slaves out of idleness and mischief. It is easy to imagine how some housewives became pampered idlers, spending their days languidly in gossiping, or at the balcony, or reading some new novel of Macedo or Alencar. Doctor Rendu had such in mind when he unjustly generalized about the Brazilian women: ". . . elles passent des journées entières a leur fenêtre".²⁷ Nor had F. Dabadie seen a Brazilian interior when he stated that the Brazilian ladies were lazy—"si indolentes", he says, "pour la plupart, qu'elles aimeraient mieux renoncer a toute parure et se condamner a vieillir en chemise sur une natte ou dans un hamac que d'aller acheter dans un magasin les afflutiaux dont elles raffolent".²⁸ It is true that the Brazilian lady of the fifties did not go out for her shopping. She was a house prisoner. Moorish prejudices kept her from those pretty shops of fancy goods, bonnets, jewelry, *bijouterie*, which travelers admired so much in Rio de Janeiro, the Italian naval officer Eugenio Rodriguez describing them as "elegantissimi magazini." But at home she did not stay in her hammock. In a typical home works of all kinds went on during the day. Linen, silk, millinery, fancy goods, were bought from samples and pattern-books, after much running of negro boys

²⁷ Rendu, *Etudes sur le Brésil*, page 24.

²⁸ Dabadie, *Récits et Types Américaines*, p. 104.

from shop to the house: or, in many cases, from the peddler who came once or twice a week, making a noise with his yardstick. It was not necessary to go to the market to buy vegetables, fruit, or eggs since venders of these rural products, as well as of milk, meat, and fish, came to the home. There were itinerant copper-smiths who announced themselves by hitting some old stewpan with a hammer. Even novels were sold at the door. Paulo Barreto tells that Alencar and Macedo—"the best sellers" of the period—had negroes go from house to house, selling their novels in baskets. Therefore, the fact that the Brazilian woman did not go to the shops does not mean that she was too lazy to do her own shopping. She did it. And after the shopping was done in the morning it was she who superintended the various kinds of work going on in the household. The Count de Suzannet, who was anything but pleased with the Brazilian women, remarks that "elles président aux soins du ménage donnant leurs ordres aux negresses ou veillant elles-mêmes à la préparation des mets".²⁹ Fletcher who, though a Protestant clergyman, enjoyed the intimacy of many a home in Brazil, thought that the Brazilian housewife answered to the description of the "good woman" in the last chapter of Proverbs: "she looketh well to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness." Carlos de Laet—the last brilliant mind of a departed order—tells us that "to accuse a lady of not knowing how to manage her household was then the most unpleasant offence to her".³⁰ Oliveira Lima characterizes the Brazilian housewife of this period as possessing "ability to manage" (*capacidade administrativa*), without which it was impossible to keep such large households going.³¹ Others might be quoted to show that in this matter the weighing of evidences reveals an active, rather than an idle woman, as the typical Brazilian housewife in slavery days.

The double standard of morality prevailed in the fifties: the lily-like woman was idolized while incontinence in the man was slightly regarded. It is true that the Emperor Dom Pedro

²⁹ Suzannet, *Souvenirs de Voyages*, p. 265.

³⁰ Carlos de Laet, "Triste mas verdade" in *Jornal do Brasil* (undated clipping).

³¹ Oliveira Lima, "Nisia Floresta," in *Diário de Pernambuco*, December 4, 1919.

II. made the standards of sexual morality stricter for those who were around him or who aspired to political eminence. He was a sort of Queen Victoria in breeches—only more powerful—and watched the statesmen like a moral detective. It is commonplace that he refused to appoint men to eminent positions on account of irregularities in their private life—a tradition which the Republican leaders found too foolish to maintain. But the emperor's influence was only felt in the high spheres of officialdom. In the large country estates irregularities went on freely, the colored girls constituting a disguised harem where either the master or his sons satisfied their exotic sexual tastes. Doctor Rendu remarked of the Brazilians that "*leur passion pour les femmes ne connaît point de frein; ils s'y abandonnent sans retenue et ne reculent devant aucune tentative pour la satisfaire*". From these relations with slave girls resulted a substantial increase in the number of slaves—an improved slave breed since, in many cases, the male parent was a Portuguese—I mean ethnically, not civilly—of the best blood. From such unions of first-rate men—the gentry—and their slave women sprang those able halfbreeds who, even during the Empire,³² rose to prominence and have given the Republic some of its best leaders.

In the cities of Brazil of 1850, bachelorhood did not offer the charms it offers in sophisticated centers. But bachelors enjoyed certain licences. Social legislation did not disturb them; neither did the priests who, being bachelors themselves, must have felt an acute "consciousness of kind". Bachelors and widowers even advertised for mistresses, in a suavely disguised way. This sort of publicity shocked an American Puritan, a Doctor Creary. He quotes some of the advertisements in the papers of Rio de Janeiro, one of which is from a "young single Englishman" who wishes "a colored girl to take charge of his house"—a colored girl "who is poor and to whom everything will be given to make her happy".

In his attitude towards his wife the Brazilian of the fifties was a true patriarch of the Roman type. She was given authority

³² Color constituted no barrier against civil rights. When free, the colored man could go to the ballot and was eligible to parliament.

in the household, but not outside. Outside she was to be, legally and socially, the shadow of her husband. "A promenade below, with the chance of a flirtation, is denied her", the American C. S. Stewart remarks in his book. Pointing out the virtues of the Brazilian matron in the *ancien régime*, of which he is the most eminent survivor, the Count Carlos de Laet says that "she knew how to obey her husband".³³ Monsieur Expilly, a French feminist who visited Brazil in the fifties, was indignant at what he calls "le despotisme paternel" and "la politique conjugale". "La broderie", he writes, "la confection des doces (confitures), le bavardage des negresses, le gaffoune, le maniement de la chicote et, le dimanche, une visite aux églises, voilà les seules distractions que le despotisme paternel et la politique conjugale permettaient aux jeunes moças et aux inquietes senhoras".³⁴

While the woman spent most of her time indoors, the man—the city man—spent most of his, out—in the street, in the plaza, at the door of some French hotel or in his office or warehouse. The condition was much like that in ancient Greece where people thought, with the wise old Xenophon, that "it is not so good for a woman to be out-of-doors as in, and it is more dishonourable for a man to stay in than to attend to his affairs outside". Brazilian men, like the Greeks, enjoyed the easy fellowship of the street and the plaza—and in the street and the plaza they discussed politics, Donizetti, the Aberdeen Bill, and transacted business. We are told by Sampaio Ferraz, in his excellent work "O Molhe de Olinda", that in Pernambuco, during the last half of the nineteenth century, the most important business was transacted outdoors, under the trees of Lingoeta. Lithogravures of the period, which I examined in Oliveira Lima's collection, show the streets—Rua Direita and Largo da Alfandega in Rio, Lingoeta in Pernambuco, and so on—full of groups of men, talking, smoking, taking snuff, while coffee or sugar carriers run with their cargoes, their half-naked bodies shining with oily sweat. The sentiment of home was not strong among the Brazilian men when the patriarchal family was in its full vigor. Nor did they have mundane

³³ Laet, "Triste mas verdade," in *Jornal do Brasil*.

³⁴ Charles Expilly, *Les Femmes et les Mœurs du Brésil*, p. 372.

clubs—unless if we accept as such the Masonic lodges. The street was their club.

This may serve as an explanation of the fact that the city Brazilians of the fifties did not seem to have attractive homes. Twenty years before a French traveler, Louis De Freycinet, had observed that the Brazilians spent most of their time sleeping, or outdoors, or, sometimes, receiving their friends: therefore they only needed—the Frenchman thought—a reception room and the bed rooms. In the fifties the city houses were practically the same that De Freycinet had seen. They were heavy and solid, like those fat Moorish towers that nothing seems to uproot; their walls were thick, made of bits of stone mixed with mortar. Ewbanks informs us that they were “mostly two stories”. As to the walls he writes that they “are of rough stone coated with a stucco of lime and loam, which makes them appear as if white-washed”. “Some owners”—I am still quoting from Ewbanks—“show their taste by coloring the stucco in panels or otherwise; light blue and pink are favorite tints”.³⁵ In those old houses, a few of which survive, there were big spouts at the eaves of the roofs, where the rain was *shot* in the narrow streets.

The plan of the old Brazilian house was the poorest that one can imagine. Indeed, in this respect, it was a masterpiece of architectural stupidity. Doctor Kidder, an American, was entertained in a house in Pernambuco where “the first or ground floor was denominated the *armazem* and was occupied by male servants at night; the second furnished apartments for the counting room, etc.; the third and fourth for parlours and lodging rooms; the fifth for dining-rooms; and the sixth for a kitchen”.³⁶ Of course such a skyscraper was not the typical residence. But one wonders why the houses were built as if space was scarce and looked gloomy, heavy, fat. Most of the houses of the well-to-do had a carriage-house and a stable on the ground floor, for in the forties and fifties, at least in Rio and Pernambuco, carriages with luxuriously cushioned seats and gorgeously dressed negro postilions, took the place of the old *cadeirinhas*, or palanquins.

³⁵ Thomas Ewbanks, *Life in Brazil*, p. 86.

³⁶ Kidder in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil*, p. 515.

I have the photogravure of the carriage which belonged to a wealthy coffee-trader of Rio de Janeiro—a carriage drawn by four white horses, with a black coachman in the box and a postilion. In Bahia the steepness of the streets prevented the introduction of wheeled-carriages and as late as the seventies palanquins were used there.

As to the furniture of the household—tables, sofas, chairs, marquises, bedsteads—they too were heavy, solid, made of rosewood, *oleo*, *vinhatico*, and other indigenous woods. Each reception-room had a large sofa at one end and rows of chairs, one from each end of the sofa. They were arranged with a childlike idea of symmetry—I mean as a child places his toy-soldiers in line for a battle—in straight, regular rows. In some houses the sofa and the chairs were adorned with laces and colorful ribbons. A piano was seldom lacking, for as Francis de Castelnau observed in Brazil “dans presque toutes les maisons l’on voit ou l’on entend un piano, souvent même dans les plus chétives”. When visitors came not only were games of romps, such as *pilha tres*, enjoyed, but a sonata or a polka was played at the piano by a lady. It was also *accompanied at the piano* that the young men recited “Oh, guerreiros da taba sagrada!” or “Waterloo, Waterloo, lição sublime!” or “Se eu morresse amanhã”—poems from the favorite bards of the period. Sometimes the master of the house, being a flute or a violin virtuoso, would entertain his visitors. Most of the men in those days played the piano or the violin or the flute. My paternal grandfather—a sugar planter—was a violin virtuoso. The keen taste for music was perhaps what made Brazilian slaveholders kind and gentle.

De Freycinet forgot that Brazilians needed, besides a parlor and many bedrooms, a large dining hall. They had large families and liked to have their friends for dinner. It was on the tables, over the large dishes of fat pork and black beans, of *pirão*, a sort of unctuous pudding which Arthur de Oliveira has celebrated in his colorful prose, of *cangica*, fancy breads, sweetmeats, cakes, and frozen desserts, that the Brazilians showed the best of their patriarchal hospitality. Foreigners were delighted at the delicacies with which the Brazilians loaded their tables, specially

the *doces* and creams of indigenous fruits like oranges, *maracujas*, *goiabas*, mangoes. The most epicurean of them, Max Radiguet, explains that "les fruits les plus exquis et les plus parfumés, savamment combinés avec les ingrédients ordinaires flattent le palais et l'odorat".³⁷ In most of the houses the desserts were prepared by the mistress herself; she also served the dishes with her own hands.

A very apt custom followed in regard to the dinner guest was to offer him, soon after his arrival, a light coat of linen, silk, or alpaca. A traveler informs us that "whenever a person is invited to a select dinner party it is always expected that he should make his appearance in a coat of sable cloth; but immediately on his arrival he is invited to "take it off" and offered one of fine linen as substitute".³⁸ This custom is still followed by a few intelligent Brazilians.

In most of the homes the "Benedicite" was said before the meal and "Gratias" after it, the slaves joining in the brief ceremony. After "Gratias" was said, all made the sign of the cross.

Religion played an important part in the family life of Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century. The home-education, that is, the early training of boys and girls, was very religious. Children were piously taught by their mothers to fear the Almighty Man-God, who watches all that we do and marks in a huge notebook all our sins for future punishment. They were told also stories of the Virgin Mary and her little, plump, rosy baby—the Divine Infant—who grew into the Man of Sorrow and our Savior. They were taught to say the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ave Maria, the Salve Regina, and the catechism. They said their prayers on rising in the morning and on retiring at night. On retiring they went to their parents and all elders present to receive their blessing. At least once during the year the parents took their children to the altar of Holy Communion and to confession.³⁹ The most religious parents

³⁷ Radiguet, *Souvenirs de l'Amérique Espagnole*, p. 256.

³⁸ Warren, *Para*, p. 67.

³⁹ Laet says in his article "Triste mas verdade", in *Jornal do Brasil*: "Uma vez as menos durante o anno, paes e filhos revistavam a consciencia e juntos se apresentavam a mesa eucharistica."

sent their sons to the parish church to serve the mass as altar-boys. Most of the *engenhos*, had their own chapels, where the family's beloved dead were buried, instead of being taken to the cemetery. Practically every city-house had its *oratorio* with the images in a glassed case, before which the family gathered for worship in a sweet atmosphere of incense and scent of roses.

Home discipline was based on the fear of the Lord, but when this failed a whip was vigorously used. It was often too severe. Boys of fifteen were chastised for offenses that a latter-day parent would regard slightly. An unmarried son of twenty odd years would not dare to smoke in the presence of his father. As to the girls they never joined their elders in conversation unless specially invited to do so.⁴⁰ The slaves were beaten when found in mischief, and punished with the "log" or the "thin mask" when caught in injurious vices. The mistress of the house always kept a whip. The French feminist Expilly placed the handling of the whip (*le management de la chicote*) among the occupations of a Brazilian matron.

At eight or nine the girl was sent to a religious boarding school and kept there until she was thirteen or fourteen. There her training, begun at home, was continued. She was trained in that fine art—the art of being a woman. Music, dancing, embroidery, prayers, French, and sometimes English, a thin layer of literature—such were the elements of a girls' education in the boarding school. She came back a very romantic, and sometimes bewitching, little creature, reading Sue, Dumas, and George Sand, besides the gossiping *pacotilhas* such as *A Marmota* and Alencar's saccharine, but often erotic, *folhetins*. And how she could pray! And how she could dance! The dances of the period were the quadrille, the lanciers, and the polka; to dance them well, to be light as a feather and tiny as a piece of lace, was the highest ideal of a girl—I was told by a lady who took dancing lessons from the same teacher as Princess Isabel.

Ladies bloomed early. The years of giddy childhood were short. At fourteen or fifteen the girl dressed like a lady. Docil-

⁴⁰ Laet says: "As meninas . . . nunca levantavam a voz em presença dos mais velhos, nem tomavam parte na conversações se a isso não foram convidadas."

ity, and even timidity, was considered a grace. The girl was trained to be timid or, at least, to look timid before people—as timid as a little boy before the circus elephant. The Brazilian girl of the fifties was everything that the so called “very modern” girl is not. “Perhaps they were too timid”—Carlos de Laet writes of the girls of that period—“but they were adorable in their timidity”.⁴¹ Those very timid girls were playful and talkative when given a chance. Max Radiguet tells of the custom of the Brazilian society girls going to the imperial chapel in Rio de Janeiro, where an excellent orchestra assisted by a choir of Italian soprani played every Friday evening. There “pendant toute la durée de ce concert religieux les femmes accroupées sur leur caire de tapisserie prenaient sans scrupule des sorbets et des glaces avec les jeunes gens qui venaient converser avec elles dans le lieu saint”. When such merry rendezvous, in the shadow of the church, were not possible—and the custom was discontinued just as dances in the churches were discontinued—love-making had to be even more platonic. There was, for instance, love-making by means of a fan—that is, girls could make their fans speak a particular language of love which all lovers were supposed to understand”. It all depended on how the fan was held” an old lady explained to me while her tapering, white fingers handled a delicate fan in a thousand and one ways.

But as a rule marriage did not result from romantic lovemaking. The man whom the girl married in her early teens was seldom her own choice. He was her parents’, or her father’s, choice. An English traveler describes how betrothals were made: “Some day the father walks into the drawing room, accompanied by a stranger gentlemen, elderly or otherwise. ‘Minha Filha’, he remarks, ‘this is your future husband.’”⁴² Sometimes the “future husband” was a pleasant surprise—a pale youth of twenty-three or twenty-five, a ruby or an emerald sparkling from his forefinger, his moustaches perfumed, his hair smooth, oily . . . a hero who had escaped from some bright German oleogravure

⁴¹ “. . . talvez demasiadamente acanhadas, mas adoráveis mesmo nessa timidez.”

⁴² *Brazil: Its History, People, Natural Productions*, p. 175.

or from the pages of a novel. And romantic love developed between the contracting parties. But other times the "future husband" was some fat, solid, newly-rich Portuguese, middle-aged, his neck short and his hands coarse. Perhaps a very fine person—inside; but what a death-blow for a sentimental girl of the fifties. And yet she often accepted him—the pot-bellied one—such a marriage being nothing more than a business partnership. Unfortunate marriages of the latter type became a favorite theme with Brazilian writers of fiction in the sixties and seventies, Guimaraes' *Historia de Uma Moça Rica* being typical of that literature. But one should be discriminating in the matter: some marriages arranged by the girl's parents were as happy as marriages ordinarily are.

Early marriages meant early procreation. At fifteen a girl was generally a mother. Sometimes she was a mother at fourteen and even thirteen. The Reverend Walter Colton wrote in his diary: "A Brazilian lady was pointed out to me to-day who is but twelve years of age, and who has two children, who were frolicking around her steps. . . ." And he adds: ". . . ladies here marry extremely young. They have hardly done with their fictitious babies, when they have the smiles and tears of real ones."⁴³ As a consequence, girls faded early, having tasted in a hurry the joy of careless youth.

The boy, too, was born middle-aged. Dom Pedro's prematurity may be taken as typical. He was made an emperor at fifteen, and he was then very thoughtful and serious: at twenty he was an old man. Youth flew from him in a gallop. Brazilian education favored then, more than in a later day, the prematurity of the boy. Very early he was sent to the *collegio*, where he lived and boarded. Though his home might be a street or two off, very seldom—usually once a month—was he allowed to go there. He often got from home boxes of cakes and bon-bons, but no such things as toys. Toys were for little boys; he was nine or ten, nearly a man. As a rule he studied hard his Latin grammar, his rhetoric, his French classics, his sacred history, his geography. When that big occasion—the final

⁴³ Colton, *Deck and Port*, p. 108.

examinations—came, he shone, answering well all that Padre So-and-So asked about Horace, Noah, Rebecca, rules of punctuation, the verb *amare*; and all that some other teacher asked about Racine, Vesuvius, and what not. Then his father sent him a present: *The Luziadas* or Milton's *Paradise Lost*. He went to mass on Sundays, sometimes acting as altar-boy dressed in a scarlet cloak, and though he was little more than kneehigh, he wore in the street a "stiff black hat" and carried a cane. Doctor Fletcher writes of the Brazilian boy of the fifties: ". . . he is made a little old man before he is twelve years of age, having his stiff black hat, standing collar and cane; and in the city he walks along as if everybody were looking at him, and as if he were encased in corsets. He does not run, or jump, or trundle hoops, or throw stones, as boys in Europe and North America."⁴⁴ In the *collegio*, besides "the ordinary rudiments of education", he learns, Doctor Fletcher writes "to write a 'good hand', which is a universal accomplishment among the Brazilians; and most of the boys of the higher classes are good musicians. . . ."⁴⁵ The French physician, Doctor Rendu, vents upon the Brazilian boy his caustic humor: "A sept ans", he writes, "le jeune Brésilien a déjà la gravité d'un adulte, il se promène majestueusement, une badine à la main, fier d'une toilette que le fait plutôt ressembler aux marionnettes de nos foires qu'à un être humain".⁴⁶ I have seen photographs of Brazilian boys in the sixties: sweet, seraphic-looking creatures, curled, oiled, dressed like grown-ups, trying to look like old men.

At fifteen or sixteen the boy finished his studies in the *collegio*. It was time to go to the professional school. Here, as in the girls' betrothal, it was the father's or family's choice that generally prevailed. The tendency was to scatter the boys in different schools, so that the family would be represented in different professions. One was picked to go to Pernambuco or São Paulo to study law or diplomacy; another to enter the medical school; a third to be a cadet in the military school; a fourth to go

⁴⁴ Fletcher in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil*, p. 176.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Rendu, *Etudes sur le Brésil*, p. 14.

to the seminary. Among the most pious families it was considered a social, as well as a moral, failure not to have a son studying for the priesthood. Sometimes the youngest son, though of no churchly turn of mind, was the scapegoat. The family simply had to have a *padre*. As to the stupid son, who could not make good anywhere, the sensible parents sent him to business, which was looked down upon by gentlemen.

The flower of the family was picked for the law school—the law school being the training-ground, not for magistracy only, but for the parliament and the cabinet also, and for diplomacy. There were two law schools—that of Olinda, in Pernambuco, and that of São Paulo. Writing from São Paulo in 1855 Doctor Kidder said of its law school: "It is here and at the Pernambuco Law School (which contains three hundred students in the regular course) that the statesmen of Brazil receive that education which so much better fits them for the Imperial Parliament and the various legislative assemblies of their land than any preparatories that exist in the Spanish-American countries".⁴⁷

The "regular course", to which Doctor Kidder refers, came after a sort of pre-law course which included Latin, geometry, rational and moral philosophy, and other subjects. The "regular course" extended over a period of five years, the following subjects being studied: philosophy of law, public law, analysis of the imperial constitution, Roman law, diplomacy, ecclesiastical law, civil law, mercantile and maritime law, political economy, and theory and practice of general law.

Some of the professorships were occupied by men of notable talent, such as Paula Baptista and Aprigio Guimaraes—the latter a Christian Socialist. Others were notable for their excesses of Catholic piety rather than for sound scholarship and sheer love of truth. In the law school of Pernambuco, Trigo de Loureiro and Braz Florentino—who wrote a book against civil marriage—represented the latter. Religious piety—not always the excess of it—permeated the life of faculty and student body alike, making it colorful and even hieratic. Grave professors

⁴⁷ Kidder in Fletcher and Kidder's *Brazil*, p. 372.

and students trying to look as grave as possible took part in the big processions, all bearing candles and shuffling, hieratically. Frock-coated professors, dressed in their *opas*, went to hear the sermons in the Church of the Espirito Santo. The late Professor Camara, of the Pernambuco law school, in his very entertaining chronicle for 1904,⁴⁸ which smells so little of the official and so much of the literary, summarizes the description he found in the school's archives of a procession in 1854, promoted by the students, who had organized themselves into a brotherhood—*Irmandade do Bom Conselho*. In this solemn procession, among the kneeling people, the young men carried an image to the Church of the Third Order of São Francisco, preceded by the Bishop of Olinda in gorgeous purple satin, by the president of the school, and the professors, also members of a brotherhood.

But this churchly atmosphere in the day time did not prevent most of the students from being merry, boisterous, and even wicked, after sunset. They did not care a rap for rowing or any ball game—not even for cock-fighting, which some of their elders enjoyed. Making love to actresses was their favorite sport. There were generally two rival actresses, like Candiani and Delmatro, in São Paulo, and Eugenia Camara and Adelaide Amaral, in Pernambuco, and surrounding each, a fervent group of admirers—some platonic, some not. Each group had a “poet” instead of a “cheer leader”, and oratorical duels were fought in the theaters. Tobias Barretto and Castro Alves excelled, in the sixties, in that sort of mental sport. Tobias made probably the strongest impression, with his crashing hand as if ready for a blow, his white teeth flashing, his eyes inflamed. He headed the group of the actress Adelaide do Amaral; Castro Alves, that of Eugenia Castro. Eugenia soon became the student's mistress and on her “he spent on two or three nights his monthly allowance”.⁴⁹

It was in the shadow of the theater that the young men enjoyed themselves, writing verses to actresses, fighting for actresses,

⁴⁸ Doctor Praelante da Camara, “Memoria Historica”, in “*Revista Academica da Faculdade de Direito do Recife*, Anno XII.

⁴⁹ Xavier Marques, *Vida de Castro Alves*, p. 127, *apud* Afranio Peixoto's *Poeira da Estroda*, p. 221.

spending money on merry suppers with actresses. For their elders, also, the theater was the center of amusement—the theater and the church. Rio de Janeiro had three fairly good theaters, with which such sophisticated Europeans as Radiguet were not at all displeased. Dabadie wrote in 1858 that “l’art dramatique et l’art lyrique sont dignement encouragés a Rio”, describing the São Pedro Theater as “un des plus vastes et plus beaux que nous ayons vu”.⁵⁰ The operas of Meyerbeer, Verdi, Donizetti, and other composers were sung and performed there, in the presence of the emperor. In Pernambuco, the opera house had found an excellent patron, in the forties, in the governor Baron da Boa Vista. Doctor Fletcher points out in his book that “the first musicians go to Brazil”. “Thalberg”, he adds, “triumphed at Rio de Janeiro before he came to New York”.⁵¹

The *entrudo*—the ancestor of the modern carnival—was an occasion of great joy, being a festival of all classes. It consisted, then, in throwing at each other “limas de cheiro”, or small, colored waxen balls filled with perfumed water. In Rio there were masquerade balls in the theaters: São Januario, Lyrico, São Pedro, Gymnasio. The Paraizo Theater opened its doors for all the people. So brutal was then the *entrudo* that basins and tubes of water were used, besides the *limas*.⁵²

Most of the religious festivals and processions were marked by the note of joy. Ewbanks remarks in his journal that the religious festivals “constitute the chief amusement of the masses—are their principal sports and pastimes, during which the saints themselves come out of their sanctuaries and, with padres and people, take part in the general frolic”.⁵³ The “general frolic” was carrying the saints in procession—processions that shuffled through the streets from one church to another: a fat bishop crowned with a miter under his canopy, blessing people to the left and the right: priests, friars; little girls dressed as cherubs or *anginhos*; a band that suddenly played a martial tune while,

⁵⁰ F. Dabadie, *A Travers l’Amérique du Sud*, p. 20.

⁵¹ Fletcher in Fletcher and Kidder’s *Brazil*, p. 163.

⁵² Mello Moraes, Filho, *Festas e Tradições*.

⁵³ Thomas Ewbanks, *Life in Brazil*, p. vii.

moved by the music, negro rascals danced in front of the procession, sometimes also quarreling and cutting each other with knives. The procession of Saint George—the patron saint of Brazil—was followed by dances and all sorts of merrymaking. The days of Saint John, Saint Peter, and Saint Anthony—the latter a full colonel in the Brazilian Army—were celebrated with outbursts of popular joy. So was Christmas, when presents of turkeys, pigs, cakes, and slaves were exchanged. The festival of Saint Ephigenia, a sort of black Madonna, was enjoyed to the utmost by the colored folks, whose “consciousness of kind” was ably aroused by the priests.

Besides the procession of the “Dead Lord”, when the image of Jesus as a corpse was carried among the silent kneeling of all, the fanatics, wearing crowns of thorns, maltreated their half-naked bodies, the only sad procession was that of “*Encomendação das Almas*”. It had even a touch of *macabrezza*—of pathological delight in grief and suffering. It took place at midnight. Men dressed in somewhat the same manner as the knights of the American Ku Klux Klan and carrying paper lanterns went through the shadowy, silent streets, serenading people. One of them went ahead bearing aloft a large cross. In that macabre serenade they chanted prayers for the souls suffering in purgatory—the souls of dead prisoners and of men dead in the sea.

In the towns of the interior there were certain crude attempts to perform mystery plays. The personages in those plays were the Devil, the Capital Sins, the Holy Father, the Virgin Mary, Saint Peter, Judas, etc. A contemporary writer says of those rustic plays, that they lacked any literary form but sometimes one would find in them “very amusing scenes” and “expressions full of wit and humor”.⁵⁴

Religion played, as these hints have probably indicated, a prominent part in the amusements of the rustics and, to a certain extent, of all classes. It was also the backbone of organised charities. By tolerating and even encouraging superstitions, it did harm to the physical as well as the moral health of the people;

⁵⁴ Carvalho, *Études sur le Brésil*, p. 38.

it was through its hospitals, agencies of social charity, and the devotion of its nuns that it redeemed itself. Among the masses the most superstitious ideas concerning diseases—its prevention and treatment—prevailed. A foreign observer writes: "Ancient cures—worthy of Pliny—are still in vogue. Earthworms fried alive in olive oil, and applied warm as a poultice, remove *whilows*, which are common among blacks and whites".⁵⁵ The same author remarks: "I suppose there is hardly a Roman Catholic female in Brazil, from the Empress to a negress, who does not guard against invisible foes by wearing in contact with her person a coup of diminutive shields".⁵⁶ Bone *figas* and pieces of "holy rock" were also used against "evil eye" and diseases. Superstitions penetrated within the walls of hospitals and killed their inmates. Both Ewbanks and Radiguet tell the story of an inmate of the Lazaros Hospital—an institution in Rio de Janeiro for the treatment of diseases of the leprous type—who submitted to the experiment of being cured of his leprosy by the bite of a poisonous snake. The snake was brought but so repulsive were the gangrened parts of the man that the reptile shrank from the contact. The man then squeezed the snake, was bitten and died in twenty-four hours. But while superstitions were rampant there were institutions, under Catholic control, where good care was taken of the sick and unfortunate. They were not sectarian, but open to all. The following description, by a Protestant, of the Misericordia Hospital in Rio de Janeiro reminds one of a propaganda pamphlet of the Y. M. C. A. "Its doors are open at all hours, night and day, to the sick of both sexes, of all religions and of every country and color, without any forms or condition of admittance: all receive gratuitously the ablest medical attendance and the best nursing and care."⁵⁷ Most of the religious brotherhoods provided for social assistance and charity, maintaining hospitals, old people's homes, and distributing money to distressed families. The Brazil of the fifties was full of beggars—beggars in the streets. Some of them were old negro slaves, suffering from leprosy who

⁵⁵ Thomas Ewbanks, *Life in Brazil*, p. 247.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵⁷ Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata*, p. 229.

were sent out by their masters to excite the pity of the charitable with their putrid, gangrened wounds. There were also beggars who had nothing on earth the matter with them—except laziness. Radiguet met one of these parasites in Rio, who was taken through the streets in a hammock, hung from a bamboo which two negro slaves supported on their shoulders. The French traveler asked him why he did not sell his two slaves to which the beggar replied, his dignity offended: "Senhor, I am asking you for money, not for advice".

It is amazing how the Brazilians of the fifties managed to live in such miserable conditions of dirt and bad smell as they did. There was practically no public hygiene to speak of. It is in a semi-official outline of the history of public health services in Brazil that the following description appears, of Rio de Janeiro in the middle of the nineteenth century: "A filthy city, in which, it may be said, there was no air, no light, no sewers; no street cleaning; a city build upon bogs where mosquitos freely multiplied".⁵⁸ Mme. Ida Pfeiffer saw, as she walked through the streets of Rio, carcasses of dogs, cats, and even a mule, rotting. She also refers to "le manque complet d'égouts"—the complete lack of sewers. This condition was common to the other cities of the empire—even to Pernambuco, where the Dutch had left a touch of their cleanliness. Charles Darwin, who was there in the thirties, writes of its filthy streets and offensive smells, comparing it to oriental towns. In all the towns of the empire the removal of garbage, ashes, decaying matter, and vegetables, and human excrements was made in the crudest and also the most picturesque way. Those wastes were put in pipes or barrels, nicknamed *tigres*, and carried on the heads of slaves who dumped them into rivers, the seashore, and alleys. Sometimes as a witness referred to a later-day Brazilian hygienist,⁵⁹ "the bottom of the barrel would cast off, the content soiling both the carrier and the street". The decaying material was left near the bridges or on the seashores, flocks of carrion crows being depended upon to do

⁵⁸ Placido Barbosa e Cassio Barbosa de Rezende, *Os Serviços de Saude Publica no Brasil, especialmente na cidade de Rio de Janeiro de 1808 a 1907*, I. p. 66.

⁵⁹ Doctor Octavio de Freitas.

the work of scavengers. The removal of the garbage and human waste was generally made after the church bells rang "ten o'clock". In Pernambuco the *tigres* were emptied from the bridges into the rivers Capibaribe and Beberibe;⁶⁰ in Rio they were taken on the heads of slaves to be emptied "into certain parts of the bay every night, so that walking in the streets after 10 o'clock is neither safe nor pleasant". This quotation is from Ewbanks who adds: "In this matter Rio is what Lisbon is and what Edinburg used to be".

As there were no sewers to carry off the drainage there was no plumbing in the houses. The system of water supply was that of the *chafariz*, or public fountain. There was a constant dashing to and fro of big negro water carriers, taking water for the houses, sometimes to the third or fourth floor, where the kitchen was located. Those water carriers worked harder, perhaps, than any other class of slaves; for Brazilians made free use of water, thus making up in personal cleanliness what was lacking so painfully in public hygiene. Next to his hot coffee and his snuff, a Brazilian loved a hot bath best of all. Everywhere—in cities and in the great as well as the humble houses of the interior—water, soap, and a large clean towel welcomed a guest. On examining statistics of the period, I found that more than one third of the seventy-two factories then existing in the empire were soap factories.

Though there was no plumbing in the houses and bathtubs were unknown, rich and poor took a sheer joy in bathing. Poor people bathed in rivers, under the public eye. Landing in Para, the American, John Esaias Warren, was attracted to the freedom with which people bathed and swam in the river. "The first spectacle which arrested our attention", he writes, "was that of a number of persons of both sexes and all ages, bathing indiscriminately together in the waters of the river, in a state of entire nudity." And his comment is: "The natives of Para are very cleanly and indulge in daily ablutions; nor do they confine their baths to the dusky hours of the evening but may be seen swimming about the public wharfs at all hours of the day."⁶¹ While the well-to-do in

⁶⁰ Alfredo de Carvalho, *Phrases e Palavras*, p. 21.

⁶¹ Warren, *Para*, p. 9.

the cities used "gamellas" or large wooden bowls for their ablutions those in the country states—gentlemen and ladies alike—went to the nearest stream where they could also enjoy a good swim. The suburban *chacaras* in Pernambuco, along the Capibaribe river, had crude bathhouses made of coconut palms. There the ladies undressed and then dipped into the water in free, white, nakedness, like happy mermaids.

It was customary to wash one's hands before and after a meal, the slaves bringing bowls with beautifully embroidered towels. Doctor Fletcher noticed this in Rio as well as in the interior of Minas, where he traveled in an oxcart. Not many years before Saint-Hilaire had been delighted at the apostolic simplicity with which the small farmers in Minas Geraes came themselves with a basin and a towel to wash their guest's feet before he went to bed. Children had their feet washed by their mothers or negro nurses before going to bed. On this occasion their feet were also examined, so that *bichos de pe* might be extracted with a pin, if found.

But all this free use of water and soap did not mean that personal cleanliness was absolute. The gentlemen, for instance, were given to excesses in the taking of snuff. They took a pinch of it every ten minutes or so. As to the ladies, most of them had lice in their hair. There is hardly a Brazilian whose grandmother was free from lice. To have them picked by the deft fingers of their maids was even a pleasure which some of the most fashionable ladies enjoyed. This sort of tolerance towards lice among the Brazilian ladies was inherited from their Portuguese grandmothers, Portugal being—according to an English traveler who visited that country in the latter part of the eighteenth century—"perhaps the richest country in lice".

The fifties were in Brazil a period of great mortality. There were two epidemics—yellow fever and cholera. The yellow fever was very deadly, specially among foreigners, in 1850, 1852, 1853, and 1854. The cholera epidemic reached its zenith in 1856. During it slaves died like flies. The terrible pest scattered grief throughout the country and among all classes. Sylvio Romero,

who was then a child, has written a short but vivid account of the effect of the cholera upon a plantation in the north.

Religion, which helped Brazilians to laugh, to go through sickness, even to flirt, also helped them to die. Good Catholics, they passed away holding a candle and murmuring the names of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. When one became desperately ill his or her family sent for the priest, who came in white lace, followed by his acolyte and by friends of the dying one and pious persons—all chanting dismally through the streets. Funerals were pompous but with a touch of humorous—I am using the adjective in its most refined sense—grotesqueness. Children's corpses were buried in scarlet or blue coffins, and dressed as cherubs or angels, with wings and their hair arranged in locks. When supplementary locks were required the undertaker supplied them—"locks as well as rouge for the cheeks and pearl-powders for the neck and arms". Ewbanks remarks: "Fond of dress while living, Brazilians are buried in their best, except when from religious motives other vestments are preferred. Punctilious to the last degree, they enforce etiquette on the dead."⁶² Yes, they enforced etiquette on the dead, and vanity besides etiquette. Generals were gorgeously dressed in their full uniforms, still with embroideries of gold; statesmen, in full dress, with all sorts of glittering stars, crosses, and ribbons of orders of nobility; priests, in their magnificent silk robes; maids, in white dresses; with green chaplets of white flowers and blue ribbons. Members of religious brotherhoods dressed as saints—Saint Francis, for instance. Before the coffin was closed, prayers were said by the priest; then—a shuffling of feet, hysterical cries of distressed women, the shrill laments of slaves, and the dead was taken to the cemetery or the church.

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⁶² Thomas Ewbanks, *Life in Brazil*, p. 67.

⁶³ Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.

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SPANISH SEAMEN IN THE NEW WORLD DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

THE LEGAL STATUS OF SPANISH SEAMEN

The Spanish mariners of the New World were governed by the laws of the Indies. Their conditions of service were perhaps more vitally affected by the manner in which masters of ships saw fit to exercise (or exceed) their authority. But beneath both enactments and arbitrary authority lay the *Consulado del Mare*, the maritime law at the basis of all legal relationships of the sea, just as the Common Law is at the basis of all our legal relationships on land. For this reason, an analysis of the customs of the sea, as contained in the *Consulado del Mare*, is especially valuable as furnishing a background for a sketch of the conditions of life among seamen of the colonial period.

The *Consulado del Mare* furnished the laws used by practically all the *Consulados* of Spain, which for three or four centuries were accepted as authority throughout the Mediterranean area. It also furnished the basis of the laws of Oleron of about the same period. The *Consulado del Mare* was compiled at Barcelona, in all probability, according to an eminent authority, "by the scribe of the Consular Court for the use of the Consuls of the Sea."¹ The exact date of its origin is a subject of some disagreement. Perhaps the more general opinion is that the laws were compiled during the thirteenth century. This is the view of such men as Capmany, Vinino, and Meyer.² Twiss, writing at a later date

¹ Sir Travers Twiss, ed., *Monumenta juridica* *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, 4 vols. (London, 1871-1876. III. lxxxix. Hereafter cited as, *Black book*.

² Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalou, *Memorias historicas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1779-1792.) I. part II. 175. Also see Charles Solomon Mitrani, "The Rise of the Spanish Consulados . . . Berkeley, 1917" (unpublished manuscript in the University of California Library).

(1874), states that he "considers the assumption to be well founded that the Customs of the Sea in the form in which they have come down to us in the Book of the Consulate of 1494 were not compiled until some time after 1340 A.D."³ But regardless of the exact date of origin, it is known that the *Consulado del Mare* was the recognized maritime law of the South European countries for several centuries.

The *Consulado* mentions six modes of hiring mariners: (1) for the agreed voyage at a lump sum; (2) by the month; (3) by the mile; (4) at the discretion of the managing owner; (5) for a share in the freight; (6) for the right to load goods on their own account.⁴ The contract of hiring was entered into when the mariner's name was entered on the ship's register, or he had shaken hands with the managing owner, a ceremony as binding as if they had gone before a notary.⁵ In addition, an oath of loyalty was required from mariners and all who received wages aboard ship.⁶ Once the contract was made, the mariner could go nowhere except with the consent of the managing owner.⁷ And the managing owner, on his part, could not dismiss the mariner unless it was upon one of four conditions: (1) robbery; (2) quarreling; (3) disobedience, and then only upon the fifth occasion; or (4) breach of oath.⁸

The mariner's duties comprised anything he might be ordered to do about the ship and its navigation. In the words of the *Consulado*,

. . . the mariner is bound in all things which pertain to the ship, to go to the forest and fetch wood, to saw and to make planks, to make spars and ropes, to bake, to man the boat with the boatswain, to stow

³ *Black book*, II. lxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 191, note 1.

⁵ "Coustumes de la Ville de Barcelone concernant la Marine et diverses Ordonnances des Rois d'Aragon en langue Catalane [Consulado del Mare]." Original text and translation in *Black book*, III. 50-657. Ch. cix. in, *Black book* III. 217. (Chapter citations refer to both texts; page citations in the *Black book* are given only for the English translation. The original text may be found on the opposite page.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch. xvi. in *Black book*, III. 89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Ch. cix. in *Black book*, III. 217.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. lxxx. in *Black book*, III. 187.

goods and to unstow them; and at every hour when the mate shall order him to go and fetch spars and ropes, to carry planks, and to put on board all the victuals of the merchants, to heave the vessel over, to go and fetch spars and ropes, to carry planks, and to aid to repair the vessel, and he is bound to do everything to improve the condition of the ship and of all which belongs to the ship whilst he shall be engaged to the ship.⁹

A passage rather curious from our viewpoint, but not from the mariner's, attests the fact that he was never free from duty for very long intervals:

A mariner ought not to undress himself if he is not in a port for wintering. And if he does so, for each time he ought to be plunged into the sea with a rope from the yard arm three times; and after three times offending, he ought to lose his salary and the goods which he has in the ship.¹⁰

In those days, vessels were not always accustomed to draw up alongside of wharves, so the mariner must be willing to step into the water himself and carry the passengers ashore upon his back; and if he was not willing, he was bound to reimburse the passenger any loss he might incur.¹¹

In general, freight was the mother of wages. But the mariner was safeguarded against loss through unprofitable voyages, for the *Consulado* held that in the last resort, the ship was liable for wages, even to the extent of selling the vessel.¹² One source of mariners is indicated by the following passage concerning wages:

. . . the managing owner may not diminish the wages of any one. And if a man is worth more than the managing owner believed at the commencement, he ought to increase his wages; for many men desire to leave a country, because they are not sufficiently appreciated, and in order to get away from it, sell their personal services at a cheap price.¹³

⁹ *Ibid.*, Ch. cx. in *Black book*, III. 219.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Ch. cxxv. in *Black book*, III. 233. "Ought" should generally have been translated as "must."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Ch. cxxxi. in *Black book*, III. 235.

¹² *Ibid.*, Ch. xciii. in *Black book*, III. 199.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Ch. cv. in *Black book*, III. 215.

But evidently all mariners were not so eager to escape from the country that they were willing to take low wages. For it is also provided as follows:

Here let us suppose that the managing owner of a ship agrees with a mariner, be he bad or good, skilful or unskilful, he has to pay him his wages, nevertheless under this condition, that if the mariner has represented himself to be a caulker or a carpenter or a mate, and the managing owner has hired him upon that reliance, if the mariner knows nothing, the managing owner of the ship or vessel is not bound to give him anything beyond what the mate and the ship's clerk adjudge upon their oath that he ought to have.¹⁴

A mariner who shipped for wages by the mile was bound to go wherever the ship went, even "to the end of the world". But if he signed for a voyage, then he was bound only for the particular voyage agreed upon. And if the vessel should be sold before returning, it was the duty of the owner to provide him with a ship to return to his home port.¹⁵

A customary scale of rations, enumerated in considerable detail, is called for by the *Consulado*:

. . . the managing owner of a ship or vessel, which is decked, ought to give to eat to the mariners on three days a week flesh-meat, that is to say on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, and on the other days of the week porridge, and every evening of every day accompaniment with bread, and also on the same three days in the morning he ought to give them wine, and also he ought to give them the same quantity of wine every evening. And the accompaniment of the bread ought to be such as follows, that is, cheese or onions or sardines or some other fish. . . . Further the managing owner of the ship or vessel is bound to double the ration of the mariners upon the solemn feast days. Further, he ought to have servants to prepare the food for the mariners.¹⁶

Compared to the sea code of the Hanse Towns (which authorized branding on the forehead), the penalty for desertion stipu-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. lxxix. in *Black book*, III. 187.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. cxvi. in *Black book*, III. 225.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch. c. in *Black book*, III. 211, 213.

lated in the *Consulado* was mild. The mariner was bound to make compensation to the owner for all losses incurred as a result of the desertion, and in case he was unable to do so, he could be imprisoned until such time as he was able to pay.¹⁷ And mariners who took away a ship without the consent of the owner were similarly bound to make losses good, and could be imprisoned, and a demand made against them, "just as against persons who renounce their lord and dispossess him of his authority."

Discipline aboard ship was of course to be very strictly enforced. Necessarily much authority was left to the master, and the mariner must be extremely careful in his conduct towards him. A mariner who quarreled with the managing owner lost half his wages and the goods he had in the ship.¹⁸ And heavier penalties were exacted in proportion to the gravity of the offense.

. . . . And if he raises a weapon against the managing owner, all the mariners ought to seize him and bind him and put him into prison, and take him before the local authorities, and those who will not seize him ought to lose their goods and the wages which they will receive or ought to receive for the voyage.¹⁹

Thus it was made the duty of the crew to assist actively in disciplining itself. But the paragraph of the *Consulado* which deals with the limits of the mariners' right of self defense, shows most clearly his real status aboard ship.

Further, a mariner is bound to bear with the managing owner of a ship, if he reproaches him, and if he runs to attack him the mariner ought to run away to the bow of the ship and place himself by the side of the chain. And if the managing owner passes the chain, he ought to run away to the other side, and if the managing owner passes to the other side, he may defend himself, calling persons to witness how the managing owner ought not to pass the chain.²⁰

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Ch. cxiii. in *Black book*, III. 221.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. cxviii. in *Black book*, III. 227, 229.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Ch. cxx. in *Black book*, III. 229.

THE SEAMEN OF THE EXPLORERS

Spanish navigators explored the west coast of America from the Horn to Alaska, and across the Pacific to the Orient. Their ships were manned by rough, hardy seamen who underwent untold hardship and suffering from unremitting battle with wind and wave, cold, exposure, starvation, disease, and death.

It was the policy of the king to allow none but Spanish mariners in the New World, for reasons of greater secrecy surrounding the wealth of his possessions. Nevertheless, it was found necessary to enlist foreign sailors, especially in the earlier expeditions, because native Spanish seamen were lacking. Thus Magellan carried besides the Spanish among his crew of 265 men, some 37 Portuguese, 30 or more Genoese and Italians, 19 French, and others were Flemings, Germans, Sicilians, English, Corfiotes, Malays, Negroes, Moors, Madierans, Biscainers, and natives of the Azores and Canary Islands.²¹ In 1565 many Portuguese sailed to the Philippines with Legazpi and caused him considerable anxiety, because in view of the relations between the two nations, he found them not to be trusted.²² The sailors for the later expeditions up the California coast were most probably all Spaniards, or natives of the vicinity of San Blas, as in the expedition of Martinez.²³

In the main, the men seem to have served and sacrificed with great fortitude, if not always with obedience, thoughts of glory or love of adventure proving sufficient stimulus. Probably on such expeditions a sufficient number of volunteers could be found, if not all Spanish, then of other nationalities. At least

²¹ Andrea Ca da Mosto, *Il primo viaggio intorno al globo di Antonio Pigafetta* (Roma, 1894), p. 53, note 2. Quoted in translation in Emma Helen Blair, and James Alexander Robertson, ed. and transl. *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, 1903-1908). XXXIII. 279. The latter work is cited hereafter as Blair and Robertson.

²² Miguel López de Legazpi, Copia de una Carta que escribio. . . al Marques de Falces, Cebu, July 7, 1569. Translation in Blair and Robertson, III. 44-53. See p. 53.

²³ Estevan Josef Martinez, Diary of the Voyage . . . in . . . the frigate *Princesa* and the packet *San Carlos* . . . in the present year of 1789. Translation by W. L. Schurz, p. 62 (unpublished manuscript in the Bancroft Library).

the writer has found but one case of shanghaiing recorded—that of a man from the island of Teneriffe who was forcibly added to the crew by the order of Magellan.²⁴

The sailors were a rough class of men, intemperate (if the example of the seaman on Bodega's schooner who drank himself to death is at all typical of their love of strong drink),²⁵ given to excesses when they went ashore,²⁶ commonly afflicted with venereal diseases,²⁷ irresponsible, and turbulent. They loved to gamble and to barter, even with the very clothes they wore. When Vizcaino issued out the extra supply of clothing at the request of his men, to protect them from the cold, he thought it necessary to issue at the same time an edict "to the effect that no one should gamble or sell them, under pain of death."²⁸ Maurelle records that his men cut their shirts, trousers, and jackets into strips, and bartered these little rolls or bandages with the Indians.²⁹ And Governor Fages of California ordered that no bales of goods should be opened until the San Blas vessels left port, to avoid the waste of clothing in barter with the sailors.³⁰

Mutinies were of frequent occurrence, especially in the expeditions which crossed the Pacific. Although seamen took part in these uprisings against authority, they were often led by men of higher rank, actuated by motives of jealous ambition, who found discontented elements in the crew ready to aid them. Thus, royal officials led a mutiny against Magellan, which he suppressed

²⁴ Blair and Robertson, XXXIII. 289, note 1.

²⁵ Francisco Antonio Maurelle, *Journal of a voyage in 1775 . . . in the King's schooner, called the Sonora, and commanded by Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega*. Translation in Barrington, *Miscellanies* . . . (London, 1781), pp. 471-534. See p. 480.

²⁶ Francisco Antonio Maurelle, *Narrative of an interesting voyage in the frigate La Princesa, from Manila to San Blas in 1780, and 1781*. Translation in La Perouse, *A voyage round the world, in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788*. 3 vols. (Translated from the French, 1791), I. 340-418. See p. 375.

²⁷ Martinez, *supra*, p. 58.

²⁸ Sebastian Vizcaino, *Diary, 1602-1603*. Translation in Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), pp. 52-103. See p. 57.

²⁹ Narrative of an interesting voyage in the frigate *La Princesa*, from Manila to San Blas in 1780, and 1781. Translation in La Perouse, *op. cit.*, I. 372.

³⁰ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works*, 39 vols. (San Francisco, 1882-1890), XVIII. 484.

by executing the ringleaders.³¹ But a short time thereafter a second mutiny broke out. The crew of the *San Antonio* put their captain, Alvaro, in irons, and after many difficulties returned to Spain.³² Mutinies broke out in the expeditions on the Pacific sent out by Cortes. One of the ship's companies mutinied against their commander Hurtado de Mendoza, and returned to port.³³ Another expedition came to an unfortunate end when Ximines, in 1534, killed his superior, Bercerra, and took command, only to be himself killed soon afterwards by Indians.³⁴ In 1537 the explorer Grijalva was killed by mutineers.³⁵ The crew of one of the ships of Loaysa, in the South Pacific, mutinied, throwing the captain and his brother overboard. Like most of the mutinous crews, they ran into difficulties. The ship went aground on an island and the crew were overpowered by Indians. Saavedra, crossing the Pacific from New Spain, found them, and brought the mutineers to justice.³⁶ The Legazpi expedition to the Philippines in 1565 also has its record of mutinies. On the first occasion Legazpi hanged four leaders, severely reprimanded others, and as for the rest, merely imposed the order that no language but Spanish be spoken. When a second mutiny occurred, two more were hanged. The *San Geronimo*, sent to aid Legazpi, had similar experiences. The captain and his son were murdered by mutineers; and two of the latter were hanged following a second, and successful counter mutiny.³⁷

This frequency of mutiny no doubt reflected somewhat on the severity of discipline aboard ship. The death penalty was inflicted for mutiny and other crimes, and at least threatened for lesser offenses. Bodega seems to have been a commander who treated his men with great consideration. When they became

³¹ Maximilianus Transylvanus, *De Moluccis Insulis*. [Coloniae, 1523] Translation in Blair and Robertson, I. 305-337. See p. 318.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 319.

³³ Miguel Venegas, *A natural and civil history of California* . . . Translated from the original Spanish . . . 2 vols. (Madrid, 1758). I. 133.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 135.

³⁵ James Burney, *A chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea*. . . 4 vols. (London, 1803), I. 181.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 149.

³⁷ Blair and Robertson, II. 143, 144, 148, 149.

discouraged he gave them small presents, and in other ways stimulated their enthusiasm.³⁸ He took all precautions he was able to against sickness and scurvy. Yet when two of his men voluntarily went among the Indians, intending to remain, but were made captives, causing Bodega much trouble in securing their release, the commander had them laid across cannon and each given a hundred lashes, after which he put them in irons.³⁹ It was considered to be, and was made the duty of commanders to punish severely blasphemy, gambling, immorality, and other sins. Before departing on the expeditions, sailors were required to take an oath of loyalty to the commander that they would obey him and not mutiny, and they had to present a certificate that they had confessed and received communion.⁴⁰ Of those who were enlisted for the voyages, not only their name, but their father's name and his place of birth were entered on the register, that their nationality might be known ⁴¹

The explorations were hazardous undertakings. Nearly every expedition suffered losses from attacks by Indians when the crew went ashore for food, wood, and water. The navigation of the small craft required much labor and exertion of the sailors, especially when storms were encountered, which was often. The schooner *Sonora* in which Bodega conducted his exploration up the coast in 1775 was but 36 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 8 feet deep, and carried a crew of a pilot, boatswain, boatswain's mate, ten sailors, a cabin boy, and a servant.⁴² Not all the vessels

³⁸ Maurelle, *Journal of voyage in 1775, supra*. Translation in Barrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 478, 479.

³⁹ Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, Second voyage to the latitude of sixty-one degrees in the frigate *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, alias *La Favorita*, having a keel of thirty-nine cubits and a breadth of beam of thirteen, with a draught aft of fourteen feet, and a draught forward of thirteen feet. In the year 1779. Translation by Herbert I. Priestley, p. 28. (Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Herbert I. Priestley, Berkeley, California.)

⁴⁰ Blair and Robertson, II. 61, 62, 91.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II. 57.

⁴² Bodega y Quadra, First voyage to the latitude 58 degrees, in a schooner having a keel of eighteen cubits and breadth of beam of six, manned by a pilot, a boatswain, a boatswain's mate, ten sailors, a cabin-boy, and a servant. In the year 1775. Translation by Mrs. Gertrude Mason, p. 1. (Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Herbert I. Priestley, Berkeley, California.)

used were so small, yet the best of them were not large, and afforded but poor protection to the mariners. Huge waves would come sweeping over the gunwales, carrying away everything above deck. On such a schooner as the *Sonora*, except in a calm, the sailors could not perform their duties on the ship without becoming thoroughly wet.⁴³ Since they were used to a warmer climate, they suffered greatly from the cold of the northern latitudes. Their clothes became soaked by the rain and spray, so that in spite of the extra issue of clothing provided by the king, large numbers fell sick with severe colds contracted from fatigue and exposure. There were no conveniences for their care and protection, and few medicines. Consequently many seamen died, and the work of exploration was hampered accordingly.

The seamen's rations which Magellan supplied for his voyage included wine, olive oil, vinegar, fish, pork, peas and beans, flour, garlic, cheese, honey, almonds, anchovies, raisins, prunes, figs, sugar, quince preserves, capers, mustard, beef, and rice.⁴⁴ Other Spanish explorers carried similar provisions, though probably none so complete a list. Martinez carried aboard his frigate to Nootka Sound some goats, hogs, cows and calves.⁴⁵ But not all ships were so well supplied. Often the men were forced to go on short rations. For instance, Maurelle tells how he was obliged to reduce the allowance to five ounces of bread, three of pork, and two of beans, per day; and many cases were far worse than his.⁴⁶ Even so, the sailors would generally have been adequately provided for, but for the spoiling of the rations aboard ship. Fresh food would not remain fresh long, but soon all became corrupted. The ships were dirty and swarming with vermin and rats which attacked the rations. On board Maurelle's ship the cockroaches reduced the biscuit to a powder, and

⁴³ Maurelle, *Journal of a voyage in 1775*, *supra*. Translation in Barrington, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

⁴⁴ Blair and Robertson, XXXIII. 278, note 25.

⁴⁵ Martinez, *supra*, p. 157.

⁴⁶ Narrative of an interesting voyage in the frigate *La Princesa*, from Manila to San Blas in 1780, and 1781. Translation in La Perouse, *op. cit.*, I. 409.

bored through the water casks, letting the precious water run out.⁴⁷ Often the seawater found its way into the provisions, and further damaged the food.

Under such conditions it was inevitable that disease, principally scurvy, should break out. Until almost the end of the eighteenth century no long expedition was free from the ravages of this disease. Scurvy and cold were the most powerful obstacles to Spanish navigation of the Pacific. The death list was large, chiefly among the crew, for the commanders were accustomed to take somewhat better provisions for themselves. Many of the diaries of the explorers tell of being forced to turn back because not enough well persons were left aboard to navigate the ship. Vizcaino, with his men dying of hunger, dared not stop to receive food from Indians who offered it, as he did not have men strong enough to raise the anchors.⁴⁸

It was not generally known until Cook's voyage how to prevent scurvy on a long voyage.⁴⁹ Venegas tells how the crew of a Manila galleon were cured by eating "pitahayas, acid fruits, and fresh meat".⁵⁰ Vizcaino records in his diary the efficacy of a "small fruit like agaves, called juicolystlis".⁵¹ Martinez knew somewhat better how to combat the dread disease. His list of remedies included "wild celery, greens, the soft tender shoots of the nettle, and various other plants whose taste is similar to that of the radish leaf in salad".⁵² But none of them knew how to provide for the time when the fresh provisions were exhausted, so scurvy long remained the chief hazard and cause of mortality of Spanish seamen.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 366, 367.

⁴⁸ Diary, 1602-1603. Translation in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴⁹ "Lemon juice as a specific against scurvy was known more than two hundred and fifty years ago, as is shown in The Surgeon's Mate or Military and Domestic Medicine; by John Woodfall, Master in Surgery; London, 1636; and was first introduced into nautical diet in 1795, through the efforts of Drs. Blair and Gilbert Blane, Commissioners of the Board for sick and Wounded Seamen." Frank W. Reilly, "American commerce and the service," in *Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon of the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States*, 1874, p. 128, note b.

⁵⁰ Vol. II. 124.

⁵¹ Diary, 1602-1603. Translation in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁵² P. 175.

THE SEAMEN OF THE INDIA TRADE ROUTE

Trade between Spain and America (called India in those days) during the colonial period was for the most part conducted by great merchant fleets, or *flotas*, convoyed by one or more vessels of the royal armada. This precaution was necessitated by the raiding of Spanish commerce by foreign buccaneers, for these ships carried the coveted treasures of New Spain, and of the Orient, brought to New Spain in the Manila galleons. For a short time in the middle of the sixteenth century, when danger seemed least, all restrictions upon sailings were removed, but in 1555 the *flotas* were restored. There were two main fleets, the one with ships for the Gulf of Mexico, the other bound for the ports on the north coast of South America. Vera Cruz and Porto Bello were the destination ports which served the Mexican and Peruvian trade.

Commerce with America was a monopoly in the hands of the merchants of Seville, Spain, organized into the *Universidad de los Mareantes*. This organization resembled the English gild merchants, in that boatswains, mates, and mariners, as well as owners, masters, and pilots, were included in the membership. The mariners, however, were not allowed to hold office, nor to vote, but received certain privileges, of which more will be said later.

There was much variation in the composition of the *flotas* and the size of the ships. Five hundred and fifty tons were decreed as the maximum allowed on the India route, but the difficulty of crossing the bar at San Lucar, in Spain, kept the usual size down to more nearly 100 or 200 tons.

The manning scale of vessels in the India trade fixed by the Ordinance of July 14, 1522, required that every vessel of 100 tons burden must carry at least fifteen mariners (or able seamen), 8 grummets (ordinary or apprentice seamen), and three ship's boys.⁵³ In 1552 the scale was raised somewhat, and declared to be as follows:⁵⁴

⁵³ Clarence Henry Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, 1918), p. 272. Hereafter cited as Haring.

⁵⁴ Manuscript collection of Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, 4 vols. (Hydrographic Office, Madrid, 1601-15). XXI. No. 30, cited, Haring, p. 274.

<i>Size of Ship</i>	<i>Mariners</i>	<i>Apprentices</i>	<i>Boys</i>
100-170 Tons	18	8	2
170-220 "	28	12	4
220-320 "	35	15	5

The merchant ships went armed, even to the mariners and passengers.⁵⁵ And it was required that all mariners in the India route should be trained in artillery practice and regulations, and be examined upon the results of their training.⁵⁶

Foreign mariners (except from the Levant)⁵⁷ were prohibited from sailing in the India fleets.⁵⁸ And on the other hand, because of the scarcity of Spanish seamen, Spaniards were forbidden to sail in foreign vessels, unless those ships should be in the service of the India trade, in which case they must be manned by Spaniards. The penalty for breach of this law was four years' service in the galleys.⁵⁹ Only in case of absolute necessity were mariners to be enlisted in the Indies, and then, upon selection of the best by examination, only enough, and no more, were to be chosen.⁶⁰

When it came time to enlist sailors, the general (or admiral) set up his standard. To this standard men came to be examined, and enrolled if found fit. No one was to be shipped as an able seaman who had not served three years apprenticeship as a

⁵⁵ *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1791). Título XXX, Libro IX, Ley XXXII. Hereafter cited as, *Recopilación*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Título XXII, Libro IX, Leyes XIII, XIV, and XX.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Título XXV, Libro IX, Ley XIII.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Título XXV, Libro IX, Ley XII. Haring, p. 261, citing Encinas, *Provisiones, cedulas, capitulos de ordenanças*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1596), I. 459, 461, says that the prohibition "soon broke down. A royal decree of January, 1590, admitted any stranger of Roman faith, save only the English; another of April, 1595, admitted as masters or pilots in the New Spain fleet all but the English, French, and Dutch; and similar decrees are frequent in the first half of the following century." Of Haring's statement the writer finds no support in the *Recopilación*. On the contrary, and apparently in contradiction, Ley XII, cited immediately above, which debars foreigners, was promulgated in 1553, and reiterated in 1609 and 1631. Of course it is well known that Spanish laws and decrees for the New World were often more honored in the breach than in the observance.

⁵⁹ *Recopilación*, Título XXV, Libro IX, Ley XV.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Título XXV, Libro IX, Ley XIX.

grummet.⁶¹ Sailors had to be between twenty and fifty years of age.⁶² Care had to be taken not to enlist passengers as mariners or grummetts for this was a favorite method of evading the emigration laws;⁶³ nor were mariners to be enrolled as soldiers, for the former were none too plentiful.⁶⁴ On the ship's register was entered the man's name, age, identification marks, place of birth, and his father's name; also the man's rating, or capacity in which he was to serve, together with his rate of pay, and the day.⁶⁵

Sailors were bound to give security that they would serve and earn their pay, and take an oath of obligation.⁶⁶ But his Catholic majesty Philip II, in 1582, decreed that no pay or rations were to be given a sailor unless he could produce a certificate from one of the religious that he had been at confession.⁶⁷

When a mariner was under contract to serve one master, it was illegal for him to contract to serve another. If he did so, the penalty was double the amount of salary he would have earned, and twenty days in prison. The master who enticed him away knowingly, was also punished.⁶⁸

In the middle of the sixteenth century a gild of merchants engaged in the India trade was organized in Seville. A little later a hospital was founded for mariners who fell sick from the India voyage, or working aboard ship. In 1569 the gild and hospital united as the *Universidad de los Mareantes*, with the all inclusive membership before enumerated.⁶⁹ Certain privileges were granted to the *Universidad* by the king. Those which included the mariners are given by Stevens as follows:

⁶¹ Encinas, *op. cit.*, IV. 152, cited, Haring, p. 277.

⁶² Jose de Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la contratacion de las Indias Occidentales*, 2 vols. in 1 (Sevilla, 1672). This work was made use of in the translation and synopsis, Stevens, *The Spanish rule of trade to the West-Indies* (London, 1702), p. 166. Hereafter cited as Stevens.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁴ *Recopilación*, Título XVI, Libro IX, Ley XII.

⁶⁵ Stevens, pp. 166, 187, 188.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁶⁸ *Recopilación*, Título XXV, Libro IX, Ley XVIII.

⁶⁹ Haring, pp. 319, 320.

. . . That two hundred Ducats per Month be distributed among the Sailors of every Galeon [and ship of the *armada* and *flota*], above their Pay, so that no one receive above four Crowns, and that all those who serve in the India voyage shall be rewarded according to the service they do. 8. That those who do not furnish good Provisions, for the Armada's and Flota's, shall be punish'd. 9. That the Admirals do not suffer the Sailors to be abus'd. 10. That Sailors serving aboard the Armada's and Flota's, be exempt from Town Offices, if they think fit. 11. That no Quarters [for troops] be taken up in the Houses of such as serve in the India Voyage. . . . That a Seaman, who has serv'd 20 Years, enjoy for ever after these Privileges, tho' he follow not the Sea.⁷⁰

Besides, mariners were free from arrest for debt.⁷¹ The royal arm also stretched out to protect the sailors from the extortions practiced upon them by the people of Vera Cruz. To check this evil it was ordered that prices should be no higher to men of the fleet than to the inhabitants.⁷²

Judge Peters in 1807 declared that the Spaniards were "the most unkind, and indeed unjust, to their sick mariners of any people; for they neither pay them any wages nor maintain them. . . ." ⁷³ The mariners of the India trade thus apparently had an advantage over other sailors of Spain, in that they were entitled to the privileges of the hospital provided by the *Universidad* at Seville.

The ordinary daily ration for each person in 1534 was one and one-half pounds of bread, two pints of drinking water and another for bathing, and two pints of wine.⁷⁴ Salt pork, fish, beans and peas, oil, vinegar, rice and sometimes cheese and beef were also part of the ration.⁷⁵ In 1665 the allowance in the Windward *Flota* was as follows:

⁷⁰ Stevens, pp. 225, 226.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Laberinto de Comercio*, lib. tertio, cap. Navigantis, numero 18, cited, Richard Peters, *Admiralty decisions*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1807), I. Appendix cvii.

⁷⁴ Haring, p. 273.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

Biscuit.....	24.0	ounces
Water.....	4.5	pints
Bocallao, or Poor-Jack.....	8.0	ounces
Beans and Peas.....	2.0	ounces
Oil.....	1.5	ounces
Vinegar.....	0.15	pint
Wine....	0.75	pint

This was the ration for four days in the week. The other three, instead of fish, beans and peas, eight ounces of bacon, an ounce and a half of rice, and a small portion of cheese was substituted.⁷⁶

When rations were cut, sailors were entitled to an indemnification called "pinch gut money". In order to avoid the payment of this, if possible, the *Casa de Contratación*, or India House of Trade, issued this precautionary order:

. . . that provisions be not shortened without evident necessity, because it has happened that a great quantity of Provisions has by these means, been brought into Port, where the Bisket is sold for the fifth part of its value, which is a very great loss.⁷⁷

Until late in the sixteenth century at least, sailors were hired on shares. The owner of the ship and the sailors each chose a representative to make the settlement at the end of the voyage. The amount of the freight was computed. Then they deducted the amount paid for the convoy service, and two and one-half per cent for distribution as a bounty among sailors and grumets who had rendered extraordinary service. Of the remainder, two thirds went to the owner. The remaining third was apportioned among the crew on the basis of a whole share to each able bodied seaman, two thirds of a share to each grummet, and a fourth to each boy.⁷⁸

Later, sailors shipped for agreed wages, but seem still to have been allowed to carry a limited amount of goods as a private investment. To each mariner was allotted thirty-four jars of wine as his share, and to each grummet ten jars.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Stevens, pp. 206, 207.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 223.

⁷⁹ *Recopilación*, Título XXI, Libro IX, Ley XIII.

Sailors, grummets, and boys were entitled to four months' advance wages when enlisted. To prevent desertion, no pay was to be given in the Indies,⁸⁰ unless a certificate could be presented proving that the seaman had remained on account of illness, or other legitimate excuse, which prevented him from returning on the same vessel in which he came.⁸¹ Among the crew of each vessel in the India trade, 200 ducats above the regular pay was to be distributed as a reward for meritorious service.⁸² If the men were not paid promptly within three days of when pay was due, the master was liable to arrest, and for each day's delay, every sailor was entitled to two reals, every grummet to a real and a half, and every boy, one real.⁸³

The conditions of life aboard the India ships were much the same as elsewhere among Spanish seamen in the New World. The ships were filthy, crowded, often unseaworthy, and inadequately manned. The prevalence of shipwreck was frightful, and buccaneers abounded. The profits were between 200 and 300 per cent, but the casualties also were enormous.

The principal disciplinary offenses were blasphemy, gambling, immorality, desertion, and crime. It was forbidden for any sailor to go ashore at the Azores under penalty of 200 lashes and ten years in the galleys.⁸⁴ Sometimes mariners deserted before the ships left Spain.⁸⁵ But desertion in the Indies was the most strictly prohibited, as it was the more common also, since many came as seamen to evade the emigration laws.

Permission to go ashore in the Indies was hedged about with restrictions, and every effort was made to ascertain and punish such as planned to desert. Guards were posted on the Porto Bello-Panama road to catch fugitives. India officials and commanders of ships were ordered to do all in their power to apprehend and proceed against deserters, and those who gave them refuge. Some seamen who wished to remain in the Indies sought

⁸⁰ Stevens, pp. 183, 184.

⁸¹ *Recopilación*, Título XXI, Libro IX, Ley XLVI.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Título XXV, Libro IX, Ley XXII.

⁸³ Stevens, p. 48.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁸⁵ *Recopilación*, Título XXXIII, Libro IX, Ley XX

immunity from capture by flight to the altar and other sacred places. Thereupon the king promulgated a law against such immunity, and ordered that such deserters should be taken from the altar and returned to Spain.⁸⁶

These were the conditions under which Spanish sailors lived and labored. If Spanish officials complained of the scarcity of mariners, the cause of the scarcity is readily to be found in the conditions which prevailed in the calling.

THE MERCHANT SEAMEN OF THE PACIFIC

The discovery of a return route from the Philippines to Mexico by Urdaneta in 1565 made possible for the first time the establishment of a direct trade route across the Pacific Ocean. A regular trade was soon opened between Manila and Spain, by way of Mexico. The Pacific commerce was restricted to one or two annual galleons sailing between Manila and Acapulco, in Mexico. These Manila galleons, as they were called, were fitted out at royal expense and commanded by a royal officer. In size they ranged from small pinks⁸⁷ to galleons of 2000 tons,⁸⁸ but the more usual size, when there were two annual ships, was not larger than 500 tons, carrying crews averaging about 115 men.⁸⁹ The last galleon sailed from Manila in 1811, and returned in 1815. The commerce then fell into private hands, and the ports of San Blas, Guayaquil, and Callao were opened to engage in it.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Titulo IV, Libro I, Ley III.

⁸⁷ Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, An account of the empire of China. Translation in [Churchill, Awnsham] comp., *A collection of voyages and travels* (London, 1752), I. 1-311. See p. 213.

⁸⁸ Admiral Sir Samuel Cornish, to Cleveland, Manila Bay, November 10, 1762. In Blair and Robertson, XLIX, 57-59. See p. 58.

⁸⁹ Antonio Jose Alvarez de Abreu, *Extracto historial del expediente que pende en el consejo real, y supremo de las Indias, a instancia de la ciudad de Manila, y demás de las Islas Philipinas, sobre la forma en que se ha de hacer, y continuar el comercio, y contratacion de los texidos de China en Nueva-España* (Madrid 1736). Translations of parts of this work are in Blair and Robertson, XLIV. 227-312, and XLV. 29-88. See XLIV. 279.

⁹⁰ Edward Gaylord Bourne, Historical introduction in Blair and Robertson, I. 66.

There was some trade on the Pacific from the earliest days of the conquest, between Mexico and Peru, but it was restricted to an annual galleon, and during some periods, prohibited altogether. The annual supply ships from San Blas to Alta California were not for commercial purposes. Both routes were insignificant in comparison to the Manila-Acapulco line.

The voyage to Manila ordinarily required from seventy-five to ninety days, but the return to Acapulco usually took from seven to nine months, owing to the necessity of sailing northward beyond the belt of trade winds into the westerlies.⁹¹ America was approached in the latitude of Cape Mendocino; then the galleons turned southward, and sailed along the California coast down to Acapulco. By a renowned traveler who made the voyage to Mexico in 1697, it was characterized as

the longest, and most dreadful of any in the world; as well because of the vast ocean to be cross'd, being almost the one half of the terraqueous globe, with the wind always a-head; as for the terrible tempests that happen there, one upon the back of another, and for the desperate diseases that seize people, in seven or eight months lying at sea, some times near the line, sometimes cold, sometimes temperate, and sometimes hot, which is enough to destroy a man of steel, much more flesh and blood, which at sea had but indifferent food.⁹²

The crews which manned the galleons were composed chiefly of Spaniards and Filipinos (Indians, as they were called). The Spaniards were the sailors, or mariners, corresponding to what we know as able seamen. The Indians were rated as common seamen, corresponding to a lower rating such as our ordinary seamen. Spaniards, too, sometimes sailed as common seamen, but their wage was very much higher than Indian seamen of the same rating.⁹³ The difference in wage, however, was not based upon difference of ability, for the seamanship of the natives was

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Blair and Robertson, I. 65.

⁹² Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A voyage round the world*. Translation in Churchill, *supra*, IV. 1-658. See p. 453.

⁹³ Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, *Reformacion de suelos y raciones*, September 4, 1635. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XXVI. 198-215. See p. 206.

universally accorded high praise. Viana's description is as follows:

. . . There is not an Indian in those islands who has not a remarkable inclination for the sea; nor is there at present in all the world a people more agile in manoeuvres on ship board, or who learn so quickly nautical terms and whatever a good mariner ought to know. Their disposition is most humble in the presence of a Spaniard, and they show him great respect; but they can teach many of the Spanish mariners who sail in these seas. . . There is hardly an Indian who has sailed the seas who does not understand the mariner's compass, and therefore on this [Acapulco] trade-route there are some very skilful and dextrous helmsmen. Their disposition is cowardly, but, when placed on a ship, from which they cannot escape, they fight with spirit and courage.⁹⁴

Common seamen could be secured without difficulty, the natives being ready to volunteer in spite of the great risks and hardships of the voyage.⁹⁵ But with many of them, shipping as seamen was merely the chance to escape from captivity or worse conditions in the Islands. Once in Mexico they deserted and remained there.⁹⁶ With the Spanish sailors, conditions were somewhat different. Appeals were continually sent from Manila to the king, asking for more sailors, who were sent out from Spain to Mexico, where they boarded the galleon for the Philippines.⁹⁷ And it was deemed necessary to provide additional payment for sailors, by increasing the allowance of goods carried

⁹⁴ Francisco Leandro de Viana, *Demonstracion del misero deplorable estado de las Islas Philipinas*, Manila, February 10, 1765. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XLVIII. 197-338. See p. 301.

⁹⁵ Pedro de San Pablo, O. S. F., *Advirtio que invia a su magd. Fr. Po. de sant Pablo Predicador y ministro Prouincial de la Proua. de st Grego. Dilao*, August 7, 1620. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XIX. 71-76. See p. 74.

⁹⁶ Captain Sebastián de Pineda, *Relacion hecha por el . . . en cosas tocantes a las yslas filipinas ainsí de fabricas de galeones pataches y galeras y otros pertechos como de cosas tocantes a la guarda y conserbacion de dichas yslas*. [Mexico, 1619?] Translation in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 169-188. See p. 183.

⁹⁷ Dr. Santiago de Vera, *Copia de carta del governador de Filipinas al Arzobispo de Megico*, Manila, June 20, 1585. Translation in Blair and Robertson, VI. 66-75. See p. 72. And, Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philipinas, Iapon, y China* (Manila, 1640). Translations of the essential parts of this work, with synopses of those parts omitted, in Blair and Robertson, XXX., XXXI., and XXXII. See XXX. 203.

as private investment, in order to encourage Spanish seamen to enter the Acapulco trade.⁹⁸ In 1724 hardly one third of the men aboard the galleon were of Spanish birth.⁹⁹ Yet notwithstanding the scarcity of Spanish mariners, foreign sailors were barred from the South Sea by royal decree in 1572.¹⁰⁰

The sailors of the galleons were a rough class of men, discontented,¹⁰¹ living hard, hazardous lives, and dying in poverty and discomfort.¹⁰² They were variously described by men of the time as "the poor sailors in the continual dangers of their fearful duty";¹⁰³ as "a class of men who lack pity, and have too much greed";¹⁰⁴ and as "an ungodly people, guilty of sins of the flesh as well as other offenses, who know naught except to commit offenses against those with whom they deal".¹⁰⁵ Doubtless the descriptions fitted the subject. Los Rios submitted as one of his recommendations to the king

. . . That slave women be not conveyed in the ships, by which many acts offensive to God will be avoided. Although that is prohibited by your royal decree, and it is also entrusted to the archbishop to place upon them the penalty of excommunication and to punish them, this evil has not been checked; and many sailors—and

⁹⁸ Dr. Santiago de Vera, Carta del Presidente de la Audiencia de Filipinas, Manila, July 13, 1589. Translation in Blair and Robertson, VII. 83-94. See pp. 87, 88. See also Alvarez de Abreu, *op. cit.*, Blair and Robertson, XLIV. 307.

⁹⁹ Alvarez de Abreu, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Stevens, p. 253.

¹⁰¹ Licentiate Andrés de Alcares [Letter to Felipe III.], Manila, August 10, 1617. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 31-56. See p. 36.

¹⁰² Licentiate Gaspar de Ayala, Carta del . . . fiscal de la Audiencia de Filipinas, Manila, July 15, 1589. Translation in Blair and Robertson, VII. 112-136. See p. 125.

¹⁰³ Andres de San Nicolás, Recollect, *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos del Orden de los Ermitaños del gran Padre y Doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín, de la congregacion de España, y de las Indias* (Madrid, 1664). Translation of the parts relating to the Philippines in Blair and Robertson, XXI. 111-185. See p. 183.

¹⁰⁴ Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* . . . (Valladolid, 1890). Translations and synopses of excerpts in Blair and Robertson, XXV. 151-200; XXIX. 259-276; XXXVII. 149-284; XLI. 294-296; XLII. 117-312; XLV. 170-173. See XXXVII. 212.

¹⁰⁵ Miguel de Benavides, O.P., Carta del obispo de Nueva Segovia que trata del estado de Manila, Tulac, May 17, 1599. Translation in Blair and Robertson, X. 190-197. See p. 194.

even others, who should furnish a good example—take slave women and keep them as concubines.¹⁰⁶

The Indian seamen who deserted at Acapulco, although married in the Islands, did not hesitate to remarry in Mexico.¹⁰⁷ On the *Espiritu Santo* in 1618, seventy-five Indians came as common seamen, but not more than five returned.¹⁰⁸

In the Philippines, the king encouraged the marriage of poor Spanish sailors with native women, and interested himself in the provision of dowries for the Indian women for this very purpose.¹⁰⁹ His Catholic majesty also found it necessary to establish hospitals, and provide physicians and care for both Indian and Spanish sailors and seamen, whose poverty was such that they could not provide for themselves. Said the king in his instructions to the governor of the Philippines,

. . . I have been told that . . . both of them suffer extreme need; . . . Both classes die in discomfort, through having no building in which to be protected from the ravages of the climate, and through the lack of beds, food, medicines, nurses, and other necessities.¹¹⁰

Such was the type, and status of the men who manned the galleons.

Very early it was decreed that sailors and common seamen should be examined before enlisting to determine their fitness for the duties at sea.¹¹¹ This proved to be necessary for the reason that often as many as half those listed as sailors on the galleon were not sailors at all, but persons who had secured the position through favoritism in order to gain passage, and to share in a

¹⁰⁶ Hernando de los Rios Coronel, [Reforms needed in the Philippines], (Madrid 1619?). Translations of two documents in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 289-309, and XVIII. 309-342. See XVIII. 300, 301.

¹⁰⁷ Pineda, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 184.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Felipe II, Ynstruccion a Gomez Perez Dasmarinas, San Lorenzo, August 9, 1589. Translation in Blair and Robertson, VII. 141-172. See p. 157.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII. 143, 144.

¹¹¹ Felipe II, and Felipe III, [Laws regarding navigation and commerce.], June 14, 1583-July 25, 1609. Translation of excerpts in Blair and Robertson, XXV. 23-37; XVII. 27-50. See Law XL, Blair and Robertson, XVII. 36.

profitable trade.¹¹² And natives from the interior, ignorant of the art of sailing, were often enrolled and shipped by the factor.¹¹³

The pay received by sailors in 1635 was reported to be 150 pesos per year and 30 gantas of cleaned rice per month for sailors; Spanish common seamen received 100 pesos and 30 gantas of rice; Indian common seamen received 48 pesos and 15 gantas of rice.¹¹⁴ In 1637 wages were higher, sailors receiving 175 pesos and common seamen 60 and one half pesos.¹¹⁵ Gemelli Careri in 1697 gave sailors' wages as 350 pieces of eight for voyage from Manila to Acapulco and return. Seventy-five pieces of eight were paid at Cavite as advance pay, which was customary; but to prevent desertion at Acapulco, and insure return to Manila, the remaining 275 pieces of eight were not paid until the return, for as Gemelli Careri said, "if they had half, very few would return to the Philippine islands for the rest".¹¹⁶

But it was found that wages alone were inadequate. A royal decree had declared that seamen should carry no more boxes or clothing than indispensably necessary, for the reason that they unduly cumbered the ships. In the boxes of course was merchandise carried as a private investment.¹¹⁷ But officials in the Philippines protested that wages were insufficient incentive, that greater zeal and willingness to render loyal service would be secured if the men had a stake in the treasure ships, and that more Spaniards would be brought into the service of the Acapulco trade.¹¹⁸ Accordingly permission was granted to carry small amounts, the exact amount to be allowed being a bone of con-

¹¹² Los Rios, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 298.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 300.

¹¹⁴ Hurtado de Corcuera, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XXVI. 206.

¹¹⁵ Juan Grau y Monfalcon, *Memorial informatorio al rey nuestro señor en su real y supremo conseio de las Indias*. . . . *Sobre las pretensiones de aquella comercio con la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1637). Translation in Blair and Robertson, XXVII. 55-212. See p. 130.

¹¹⁶ Gemelli Careri, *op. cit.*, in Churchill, IV. 463.

¹¹⁷ Felipe II, and Felipe III, *supra*, Law LII, in Blair and Robertson, XVII. 48, 49.

¹¹⁸ Licentiate Cristóbal Tellez de Almazan, Carta de la Audiencia, Manila, July 6, 1606. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XIV. 140-148. See p. 145. Also, Alvarez de Abreu, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XLIV. 271, 307.

tention between Philippine officials, who sought to raise it, and Spanish officials, who sought to lower it.¹¹⁹

But even with a fixed rate of wages, and permission to carry goods for investment on his own account, the pay of the sailor was by no means certain. In 1589 one of the Philippine officials wrote to the king of grave evils existing in this matter.

. . . They should be paid in Nueva España as this treasury is too poor. As the money for their wages must be sent, sometimes it is not brought, and at other times it is lost, thereby causing the sailors to die of starvation. Therefore the sailors serve half-heartedly, and desert; and there is great negligence in the dispatch of the fleets.¹²⁰

A decree in accord with the recommendation was promptly issued.¹²¹

Wages were not paid in money, but by a warrant, or voucher, which was supposed to be convertible into cash—and was, but not when presented by the sailor. In 1621 the archbishop of Manila wrote to the king as follows:

One could not believe the injury that is done to the soldiers and sailors, and to all the wage-earners, by not paying the vouchers earned by their labor and sweat; and on the other hand, by buying these for much less than their face value. For, being rendered desperate, they sell vouchers valued at one thousand pesos for one hundred, and the lamentable thing is that, if they did not sell them, they would never be paid. Scarcely have they sold the vouchers when they are immediately paid, and the purchasers even take the poor wretches to the office of accounts, so they may be present at the payment, and that it may appear justified, by their saying that they did it of their own accord, for which they give a receipt. As it is the price of blood, and they see that others take that price, it is a grief and sorrow that cries to heaven for redress. . . .¹²²

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Dr. Santiago de Vera, Carta del Presidente de la Audiencia de Filipinas, Manila, July 13, 1589. Translation in Blair and Robertson, VII. 83-94. See pp. 87, 88.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, marginal note.

¹²² Miguel García Serrano, O. S. A., Estado del Arcobispado de Manila tocante a las cosas de gobierno eclesiastico y secular, Manila, July 30, 1621. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XX. 76-100. See p. 96.

Fifteen years later this flagrant evil was unabated, and corruption continued to hold full sway. In 1636 another letter to the king again recited the abuse as practiced by corrupt officials.

As for those poor men, they have not been paid in one, three, ten, or fifteen years. They sell their warrants during such times for the fourth, fifth, or sixth part of their face value; and many have been paid at one hundred pesos for one thousand. The warrants are bought by the servants of the auditors, royal officials, governors, and other ministers, and to them is paid the face value.¹²³

Besides the abuses which have been mentioned, the sailors were subjected to petty annoyances by the collectors of port dues at Acapulco, who, when examining the former's small chests and wretched belongings, "practice many extortions on them so that many refuse to return".¹²⁴

It is evident that the compensations of the sailors were uncertain at best. And when compared to the 100 to 150 per cent profits commonly made by the merchants, and the severe hardships, petty annoyances, and great risks undergone, one cannot but conclude that the sailors and seamen were but poorly recompensed for their indispensable services in a trade which yielded such enormous profits.

Discipline aboard ship was enforced with severity, though probably the Spanish ships of those days were not worse than aboard many American ships within the memory of men still living. Gambling, swearing and blasphemy, and immorality were all punishable, as of course mutiny, desertion, quarreling, and insubordination. Putting men in the bilboes, ducking them from the yard arm, keel-hauling, and the lash, were well known forms of inflicting punishment. When the sailors and seamen sought release from discipline by going ashore at Acapulco, and

¹²³ Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, [Letter on administrative and financial affairs.], Manila, June 30, 1636. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XXVI. 150-156. See p. 151.

¹²⁴ Los Rios, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 301. See also Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, [Letter to Felipe III.], Manila, August 15, 1620. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XIX. 90-172. See p. 97.

behaved as they pleased, the king extended the jurisdiction of the ship's officers to cover the time while they were in port.¹²⁵

Life aboard ship could not have been attractive, except for the glamor which has always surrounded going to sea. Ships in those days were the antithesis of cleanliness. Rats and vermin swarmed over the vessel. The most vivid account of the conditions comes from the experience and pen of Gemelli Careri.

. . . the galeon is never clear of an universal raging itch, as an addition to all other miseries . . . the ship swarms with little vermine, the Spaniards call Gorgojos, bred in the biscuit; so swift that they in a short time not only run over cabins, beds, and the very dishes the men eat on, but insensibly fasten upon the body. . . there are several other sorts of vermin of sundry colours, that suck the blood.¹²⁶

Besides these discomforts, he, like others, complains of the "terrible shocks from side to side, caus'd by the furious beating of the waves". The galleons were always overladen with merchandise, and the decks were crowded with the chests of the sailors, hen-coops, and bales of goods. The very narrowness of the quarters was distressing, and on one galleon at least, led to civil war which was stopped only through the efforts of the fathers who were aboard.¹²⁷

Provision for rations aboard ship was most unsystematic and improperly attended to. In the first place, those who furnished the rations for the crew often put in food of poor quality.¹²⁸ Then also, the passengers and religious, who were often numerous, consumed food provided for the crew.¹²⁹ Stowaways were an additional drain upon provisions.¹³⁰ So also were the slaves of

¹²⁵ Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, [Letter to Felipe IV.], Cavite, July 11, 1636. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XXVI. 269-290. See pp. 272, 273.

¹²⁶ Gemelli Careri, *op. cit.*, in Churchill, IV. 464.

¹²⁷ Aduarte, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XXX. 129.

¹²⁸ Admiral Hieronimo de Bañuelos y Carillo, *Relacion de las islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1638). Translation in Blair and Robertson, XXIX. 66-85. See p. 84.

¹²⁹ *Recopilación de leyes*, libro IX, titulo XXVI, ley IX, cited in Blair and Robertson, XVII. 133.

¹³⁰ Gregorio López, S. J., [Relation of 1609-1610], Manila, July 1, 1610. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XVII. 100-143. See p. 133.

the passengers and sailors, who in addition stole whatever food they could lay hands upon;¹³¹ for even the slaves who aided the sailors in their necessities were not provided for by the king's allowance of food and water.¹³² For these reasons the sailors had to spend their wages buying provisions for themselves and their slaves. This was often the cause of overloading the ships, and was responsible for failure to carry the proper kinds of food, because of which the Indian common seamen suffered most, since they were less used to provide for themselves than the Spanish sailors.¹³³ The Indians were even permitted to die of hunger and thirst aboard ship for lack of adequate provision and care.¹³⁴ The various messes aboard stocked themselves as best they could. Swine, hens, fruit, and an abundance of greens were put on the deck until the ship looked like a floating garden.

But these never lasted the entire voyage. If fish could be caught en route the passengers and crew were fortunate, for the food became corrupted, and the water gave out unless the supply could be replenished from the rainfall.

Gemelli Careri, who traveled as a cabin passenger, gives the most graphic account of the hardships and fare aboard the galleon. Eating at the boatswain's mess, he began with fresh fowl, but ere long he found himself eating the king's allowance of rations to the men, of which he gives us a description.

. . . At last he depriv'd me of the satisfaction of gnawing a good bisket, because he would spend no more of his own, but laid the king's allowance on the table; in every mouthful whereof there went down abundance of maggots and Gorgojos chew'd and bruis'd. On fish days the common diet was old rank fish boil'd in fair water and salt; at noon we had Mongos, something like kidney beans, in which there were so many maggots, that they swam at the top of the broth, and the quantity was so great, that besides the loathing they caus'd, I doubted whether the dinner was fish or flesh. This bitter fare was sweeten'd after dinner with a little water and sugar; yet the allowance was but a small cocoa shell full, which rather increased than quenched drought.

¹³¹ Los Rios, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 301.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

Providence reliev'd us for a month with sharks and Cachorretas the seamen caught, which, either boil'd or broil'd were some comfort. Yet he is to be pity'd who has another at his table; for the tediousness of the voyage is the cause of all these hardships. 'Tis certain, they that take this upon them, lay out thousands of pieces of eight in making the necessary provision of flesh, fowl, fish, basket, rice, sweetmeats, chocolate, and other things; and the quantity is so great, that during the whole voyage, they never fail of sweetmeats at table, and chocolate twice a day, of which last the sailors and grummetts make as great a consumption, as the richest.¹³⁵

On solemn feast days an extra allowance of rations was served out.

An interesting custom, related by Gamelli Careri, of the Sailor's Court of Signs (held aboard the galleon when the first signs of approach of land appeared), depicts a happier side to the life of the sailors.

. . . A canopy being set up for the sailors court of Senas, or signs, after dinner the two Oydores or judges and the president took their seats, being clad after a ridiculous manner. They began with the captain of the galeon, chief pilot, . . . and other officers of the ship; and after them proceeded to the trial of the passengers. The clerk read every man's indictment, and then the judges pass'd sentence of death, which was immediately bought off with money, chocolate, sugar, biscuit, flesh, sweetmeats, wine and the like.¹³⁶

These payments seem to have satisfied a turbulent and not too well fed crew, who, were they not appeased, were ready to inflict the kind of punishments with which they were most familiar.

. . . The best of it was, that he who did not pay immediately, or give good security, was laid on with a rope's end at the least sign given by the president-tarpaulin. I was told a passenger was once kill'd aboard a galeon, by keelhauling him; for no words or authority can check or persuade a whole ship's crew. . . The sport lasted till night, and then all the fines were divided among the sailors and grummetts, according to custom.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Gemelli Careri, *op. cit.*, in Churchill, IV. 464.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

This picture of the Court of Signs, and others of amusements for crew and passengers—cockfighting, plays, dancing, and other entertainments—show that there was a lighter side to the life of the sailor aboard ship. But from the viewpoint of today, the balance seems to have been all the other way.

His very calling was hazardous in the extreme. It was not at all uncommon for men to be washed overboard and drowned by the huge waves which at times swept over, and well-nigh submerged the small craft of that day. More than one galleon was wrecked and went down, or was driven back to Manila by storms with half the crew lost. Then, too, the galleons often sailed poorly repaired through the fault of the shore workers.¹³⁸ Pirates of all nations were active in preying upon such rich treasure ships, and the sailors and seamen might at any time be called upon to defend the ship with their lives against capture by these buccaneers or sea-dogs.

A worse enemy of the seamen, particularly the Indians, was the severe cold encountered on the voyage. They come from a hot climate, and when, without protection, they were exposed to the severities of weather in the higher latitudes, they died in large numbers. They used to come aboard the galleon without clothes, and until the king provided clothing to be issued them as a protection, they had nothing to shelter them. They had no quarters other than the deck, often. Navarrete, describing the situation aboard his ship which was "not convenient nor big enough to celebrate that high mystery" [mass], said: "We had hardly room to stand. No body could live under deck, it was so full of provisions and commodities. All men lay exposed to the sun and air."¹³⁹

So it happened that many were frozen to death, or died of exposure. The lot of the Indian seamen was especially cruel. As Los Rios said, they were "treated like dogs".

. . . They are embarked without clothes to protect them against the cold, so that when each new dawn comes there are three or four

¹³⁸ Los Rios, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XVIII, 322.

¹³⁹ Fernandez Navarrete, *op. cit.*, in Churchill, I. 213.

dead men. . . besides, they are treated inhumanly and are not given the necessities of life, but are killed with hunger and thirst. If he were to tell in detail the evil that is done to them, it would fill many pages.¹⁴⁰

The Indians, however, were not the only victims of the cold, for the sudden changes of climate, and exposure to wind and rain worked great hardship among all on board, and was the cause of much sickness and death. The treatment of the sick was shamefully neglectful. Gemelli Careri relates the callousness of the captain of his galleon, whose personal profits from the single trip were, according to his own estimate, 25,000 or 30,000 pieces of eight:

. . . Abundance of poor sailors fell sick, being expos'd to the continual rains, cold, and other hardships of the season; yet they were not allow'd to taste of the good basket, rice, fowls, Spanish bread and sweetmeats put into the custody of the master by the king's order, to be distributed among the sick; for the honest master spent all at his own table.¹⁴¹

But the worst danger was from disease. For three centuries European navigators in the New World were afflicted with the scourge of scurvy and beri-beri, especially the former. It was Captain James Cook, the Englishman, who first proved the use of lime juice as an anti-scorbutic, and thus removed one of the greatest hindrances to exploration and maritime commerce. The Spanish navigators paid especially heavy toll to these diseases, the cause of which was lack of fresh provisions, or food containing vitamins. Again we turn to Gemelli Careri for a description of these perils:

. . . There are two dangerous diseases in this voyage, more especially as they draw near the coast of America; one is the aforesaid Berben [beri-beri], which swells the body, and makes the patient die talking: The other is call'd the Dutch disease, which makes all the mouth sore, putrifies the gums and makes the teeth drop out. The

¹⁴⁰ Los Rios, *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XVIII. 300.

¹⁴¹ Gemelli Careri, *op. cit.*, in Churchill, IV. 464.

best remedy against it, is going ashore. This is no other, but the sea-scurvy.¹⁴²

The proportion of deaths among the crew and passengers was often enormous. For instance, on one vessel with 400 persons aboard, 208 died before Acapulco was reached.¹⁴³ On another, the *San Nicolas*, 330 died.¹⁴⁴ A voyage on which only three persons died was regarded as most "propitious".¹⁴⁵ Probably extremely few, if indeed any at all, of the voyages from Manila to America were made without suffering to a greater or less degree from the ravages of these diseases. And on most trips, the sufferings were terrible, and the death list very long.

Small wonder then, that from such a voyage, and such conditions, the survivors frequently preferred to desert at Acapulco (or California, when the galleon stopped there),¹⁴⁶ rather than return to the Philippines. Wages were paid only in the Philippines, and bonds were required of sailors and seamen in the endeavor to check the large number of desertions in Mexico.¹⁴⁷

Such were the conditions which prevailed among seamen engaged in Spanish commerce across the Pacific, a trade which flourished for over three centuries.

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¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 468.

¹⁴³ Pedro Cubero Sebastian, *Peregrinacion del Mundo de*. . . (Zaragoza, 1688), p. 268. Quoted, Blair and Robertson, I. 65, 66, note 105.

¹⁴⁴ Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, [Letter to the King.], Manila, December 10, 1621. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XX. 127-155. See p. 128.

¹⁴⁵ Diaz, *op cit.*, in Blair and Robertson, XXXVII, 190.

¹⁴⁶ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, XVIII. 484.

¹⁴⁷ Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, [Letter to Felipe IV.], Cavite, July 11, 1636. Translation in Blair and Robertson, XXVI. 269-290. See p. 284.

¹⁴⁸ Acknowledgment is gratefully made for the very helpful guidance and criticism of Professors Herbert Ingram Priestley and Herbert Eugene Bolton.

JAMES G. BLAINE AND THE PAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The idea of forming closer pan-American relations is not a new one, nor was it by any means original, in this country, with Mr. Blaine. Others before him had desired closer relations with Hispanic America but with less success in the accomplishment.¹ On the other hand, there had been expressed in the former Spanish colonies at various times strong desires for closer inter-Hispanic, if not always inter-American, relations, and with actual results. However, none of these movements before the period concerned had proved of much great importance *per se*, but, with all, they were not devoid of important results.

The first of these movements began with the idea in the mind of Simón Bolívar,² the Liberator, of the northern part of South

¹ Stephen A. Douglas had suggested a "general union for commercial purposes" to embrace "all the various political communities on the American Continent and the adjacent islands, from the frozen ocean to the Isthmus of Panama". "A uniform system of tariff duties and commercial regulations" was to be drawn up which would "not fail to stimulate and encourage all the branches of industry" in the several countries. All this was to be accomplished "without molesting or necessarily changing their political relations, national affinities, and forms of government". It would put an end to all ambitious schemes of aggression and invasion with a view to conquest and annexation. It would insure the inviolability and integrity of the territorial limits of each of the allied countries. In a word, Douglas saw a great commercial Union similar to the German Zollverein which would bind together all the nations in the western hemisphere and "which would afford more encouragement and protection to all branches of American industry than all the protective tariffs that the ingenuity of man ever devised". See Stephen A. Douglas, *An American Commercial Union and Alliance*, Washington, Thos. McGill and Company, 1889, pp. 36. As early as 1820 Henry Clay had announced a plan to establish a "human freedom league in America" embodying "all nations from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn" (H. Von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, 8 vols., Chicago, Callaghan and Company, 1877, I, p. 413).

² About 1810, however, although with little material result, "The Declaration of Rights of the Chilian People" was made by Juan Martinez de Rosas, suggesting

America, when in 1815, while an exile in Jamaica, he wrote what has since been known as his "prophetic letter" under date of September 6, 1815. "How beautiful it would be," he thought.

for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august Congress of representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world.

It was indeed a noble dream, but not until eleven years later was it partially fulfilled.³ On December 7, 1824, while Bolívar was at the head of the Chilean government, he sent invitations to such a congress to Colombia, Mexico, Central America, Brazil, and the United Provinces of Buenos Aires. He did not intend, seemingly, to invite the United States, but the governments of Colombia and Mexico, claiming to have conceived the idea at the same time as Bolívar, desired to have the United States participate.⁴ As a result, in the spring of 1825, the ambassadors of Colombia and Mexico verbally inquired of Clay, the American secretary of state, whether an invitation to the congress would be acceptable. The cautious President Adams desired more

that the people of Hispanic America unite, "not in an internal organization but for external security against the plans of Europe, and to avoid war among themselves. . . . The day when America, united in a Congress, whether of the two continents, or of the South, shall speak to the rest of the world, her voice will make itself respected and her resolve would be opposed with difficulty" (John Barrett, *Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine*, address, February 19, 1916, before Illinois State Bar Association, p. 21).

³ "As early as 1821 the idea of forming a close connection between the Spanish colonies in Central and South America, then engaged in revolution, had been suggested by Colombia. A few months before their independence was recognized by the United States, a treaty was negotiated between Colombia and Chile (July, 1822), in which a convocation of a congress of the new republics was contemplated. The construction of a "continental system of America, which should 'resemble the one already constructed in Europe,' was the apparent project of these two powers." See H. Von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, I, 409-410; W. S. Robertson: *Rise of Spanish American Republics*, New York, Appleton, 1918, p. 229.

⁴ Jose Ignacio Rodriguez, in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., 1889-90, XVI.* 155-156.

information regarding the subjects to be discussed, the organization and method of procedure, etc., of the congress. Very unsatisfactory answers were given, however, to those questions by the two mentioned governments, but Clay, while not overlooking this fact, declared that the president had decided to accept the invitations.⁵ However, the proposition was so "raked over the coals", the "most innocent portion" being "held up as the source of sure destruction"⁶ that when it was actually decided to send delegates the congress had adjourned.⁷ "The practical failure," said John Bassett Moore.⁸

of the United States to be represented at the Congress of Panama was an unfortunate omen. Indicative in itself of an attitude somewhat unsympathetic, this impression was deepened by the arguments by which the opposition to the mission was sustained.

The failure of the Congress of Panama did not discourage the various nations from the idea, and, five years later, the Mexican government invited the American Republics to meet once more

⁵ Von Holst: *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, I. 410.

⁶ *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 232*, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., 1889-90, XVI. 7-12 *passim*; on March 25, 1826, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the house reported adversely on the question, pp. 85-88.

⁷ President Adams in his Annual Message of December 6, 1825, asserted the invitation had been accepted and that United States representatives would be commissioned to attend the Congress. See James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II. 302; also *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, XVI. 7-12; Secretary Clay provided Anderson and Sergeant, the two United States delegates to the congress, with elaborate instructions dated May 3, 1826. (George F. Tucker, *The Monroe Doctrine*, Boston, George B. Reed, 1885, pp. 34-35; *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4). The Congress met at Panama, June 22, 1826, and held ten meetings, the last one being on July 15. Only Colombia, Central America, Peru, and Mexico were represented. The Chilean legislature failed to appoint its delegates. Brazil and the United Provinces of La Plata failed to send representatives. It was provided that the congress should meet every two years at Tacubaya, Mexico. A treaty of union and perpetual confederation was signed July 15, 1826. A convention was drawn up to provide for an army of 60,000 troops, furnished proportionately from the various countries, for defense and support of the scheme. See José Ignacio Rodríguez, in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 165, and 173-174.

⁸ John Bassett Moore, *Principles of American Diplomacy*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1918.

in a congress either at Panama, Tacubaya, or Lima. The invitation, which was dated March 13, 1831, was probably never accepted by any of the Hispanic-American states, for at least the project was never carried out. Again, on December 18, 1838, the same government repeated its request for a congress, urging Venezuela, at the same time, to join with it. The subjects to be considered were plans for defense against foreign aggression, methods for settling inter-American disputes by mediation, and the formation of a code of public law regulating mutual relations. As nothing again materialized, the Mexican government repeated its request on August 6, 1839, and again on April 2, 1840. To this latter appeal the government of New Granada alone answered (1840) accepting with enthusiasm the offer; but again the scheme did not mature.⁹

Finally in 1847, the Republics of Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru decided to carry out the idea of closer relationship and a congress met at Lima, Peru, December 11, 1847. It held nineteen meetings and adjourned on March 1, 1848, *sine die*. Its results, as far as actual accomplishment of ends was concerned, were practically nil. Treaties of confederation and commerce and navigation were drawn up as well as a postal treaty and a consular convention, the latter alone being the only one approved and that only by the government of New Granada. All the other treaties became dead letters.¹⁰

On September 15, 1856, the governments of Peru, Chile and Ecuador entered into and signed, at the city of Santiago, Chile, an agreement known as the "Continental Treaty" for the purpose of "cementing upon substantial foundations the Union which exists" between them "as members of the great American family". The Peruvian government was given the task of communicating the results of this meeting to the other governments of Hispanic America, and inviting them to adhere to its aims. Because of the feeling against the United States due to

⁹ José Ignacio Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

¹⁰ José Ignacio Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, p. 203. No invitation was extended to the United States.

the late Walker activities, the northern republic was not asked to join.¹¹

In 1864 (January 11), the government of Peru issued an invitation to all the former Spanish governments of America to once more unite in a conference to be held at Lima, or at another place to be designated. The object of the congress was to devise "measures of accomplishing a Latin-American Union" by organizing them into a single family of Spanish-American nations to better facilitate epistolary correspondence, to insure general peace and respect of fundamental institutions, to settle boundary disputes, to replace war by arbitration, and to provide for punishment of the Hispanic-American Revolutionary peace breakers. The first meeting was held on November 14, 1864. The sessions were secret and Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, Argentina, and Venezuela were represented. Once more nothing of value was accomplished.¹²

On September 3, 1880, the governments of Colombia and Chile signed a treaty of arbitration which provided that in case either party should ever be unable to agree upon an arbitrator of their disputes, the matter was to be submitted to the president of the United States for settlement. Article three of the treaty provided that

The United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili will endeavor, at the earliest opportunity, to conclude with the other American nations conventions like unto the present, to the end that the settlement by arbitration of each and every international controversy shall become a principle of American public law

However, on October 11, 1880, before the treaty was ratified, Colombia issued an invitation, in the form of a circular letter, to all the republics of South America to attend a congress to be convened at Panama in September, 1881, for the purpose of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 207. The compact, it may be said, never became a law.

¹² When Colombia promised to attend the congress, it expressed "the opinion that the United States ought not to be invited, because their policy is adverse to all kinds of alliances, and because the natural preponderance which a first-class power, as they are, has to exercise in the deliberations might embarrass the action of the Congress" (Rodriguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210).

securing adherence of all the Hispanic American states to the agreement of September 3, 1880. The United States was not invited due

to the reason that the position assigned to the government of the United States by the proposed treaty is to maintain and exercise a friendly and judicial impartiality in the differences which may arise between the powers of Spanish-America.

Fourteen nations replied but because of the continuation of the War of the Pacific between Chile and Peru and Bolivia the congress was never held.¹³

The above constituted the attempts to call a congress of "selected"¹⁴ American governments. At about this point, the American secretary of state under Garfield came upon the stage of American diplomacy, and it was largely owing to his interest in the Pan-American idea that the present movement toward that end received its initial stimulus.

James G. Blaine became secretary of state on March 4, 1881, and held office until December 19 of the same year. He was described by his friends as a "magnetic", honest, and noble character; and by his enemies as the very opposite.

Whether Mr. Blaine considered the past inter-American movements as an omen of a better age, or whether he considered them at all is not for one to say. In all probability he considered such schemes of little value which did not include the United States. In this sense his policy was a jealous one for this country in that he desired to increase our trade with Hispanic America at the expense of European nations. The idea of a union to promote peace seems to have been secondary in his mind,¹⁵ although, as will be seen later, he desired to secure Hispanic-American tranquillity first in order to obtain its trade.¹⁶

¹³ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, pp. 217-221 and 222-249; John Bassett Moore, *The Principles of American Diplomacy*, pp. 385-386.

¹⁴ This term is used literally in each case the assemblages were not made up of all the nations concerned due either to volition or circumstance.

¹⁵ This conclusion has been reached only after a careful study of Blaine's writings, speeches, etc.

¹⁶ See Blaine's letter to the *Chicago Weekly Magazine*, September 16, 1882.

It is not only enough to study the motives back of his policy, but one must notice the effect of such plans upon the public at the time. While Blaine was secretary of state¹⁷ the administration was involved in many and important foreign questions, and perhaps one of the least of these, as looked at by the public eye, was the policy of closer relations with Hispanic America. During 1880 to 1882 the fact that an attempt had been made to call the Hispanic-American powers to a conference was practically overshadowed by the diplomatic episode between the United States on one hand and Chile, Peru, and Bolivia on the other. And in 1889-90 when the first Pan-American Conference did occur, what comment there was did not seem to be very general, and, except in some foreign countries where it was looked upon as being a direct blow to their trade, was not very loud nor prolonged.

The War of the Pacific began in the spring of 1879 and lasted until 1883.¹⁸ "This occurrence", said John Bassett Moore,

naturally revived the thoughts which had so often been cherished of the formulation of a plan for the preservation of peace among the American nations.¹⁹

And Blaine affirmed later that at this point

the foreign policy of President Garfield's administration had two principal objects in view, first, to bring about peace, and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly

¹⁷ March 4-December 19, 1881; March 4, 1889-June, 1892.

¹⁸ On the War of the Pacific, and Blaine's policy in connection therewith, see the following: *Foreign Relations*, 1881, 1882; Hall, *Mr. Blaine and his Foreign Policy*, Boston, 1884; *House Report No. 1790*, 47th cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 79*, 47th cong., 1st sess.; Blaine, *Political Discussion*, p. 343; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII., 86, 89, 130, 170. For further accounts see any life of James G. Blaine, including Gail Hamilton, chap. XVI, and *Letters of Mrs. James G. Blaine*, Vol. I., under years 1881 and 1882; for foreign attitude toward Blaine's policy regarding War of Pacific see *New York Daily Tribune*, November 24, 1881, December 14, 1881, and December 15, 1881. An editorial favorable to Blaine's policy will be found in the *New York Daily Tribune* for December 14, 1881.

¹⁹ John Bassett Moore. *Principles of American Diplomacy*, p. 385.

commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States.²⁰

First, then, Mr. Blaine attempted to secure peace by diplomatic means and at the same time assemble the nations of America in a congress for the promotion of peace and commerce. As has been seen, the first met with no success and heaped upon its author the criticism of a goodly number of persons in this country, in South America, and in Europe. The second step will now be examined more in detail.

While yet in the senate of the United States,²¹ Blaine had made a study of "the resources, needs, aspirations, [and] possibilities of the Southern Hemisphere". He was in favor of giving aid to a line of steamships to Brazil. He believed that if the United States' trade with Hispanic America was not soon increased, Europe would obtain it all. He advised a tariff to promote, among other things,

the increase of commercial exchange and the establishment of practical as well as theoretical independence of foreign countries.²²

He looked upon Canada as falling in line with these ideas and believed that there remained only to add Hispanic America and the scheme of a great commercial union of the western hemisphere would be complete.²³ This was a Utopia of the dreamer, but Mr. Blaine felt that it would not be long before it might be fulfilled, and, not being a dreamer merely, he began action toward that end.

Whether the idea of a peace conference originated in the mind of President Garfield, as Blaine afterward asserted, one has reasons to doubt, especially since it is known that the executive was dominated by the secretary, who was a vigorous supporter of such ideas. Moreover, in all available works of Garfield, no mention

²⁰ Blaine's letter to the *Chicago Weekly Magazine*, September 16, 1882.

²¹ This was in the winter, particularly, of 1877-78. See Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 439 ff; Gail Hamilton (Abigail Dodge) was the niece of Mr. Blaine.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 503-504.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 504-506.

is made of his policy nor of his attitude toward South America. Only in the writings of Blaine and Gail Hamilton (Blaine's niece and disciple) does one find this mentioned.²⁴

However, before any definite results could be accomplished toward calling a peace congress, the president was incapacitated by the fatal shot of July 2, 1881, and on the 18th of September he died. Thereupon Chester A. Arthur immediately assumed the office of chief executive.

Some time previous to the assassination of President Garfield on July 2, 1881, an agreement had been reached between the president and the secretary of state, to the effect that a conference of all the American states should be called to meet in Washington, in order to consider and discuss the prevention of war among the various states of this hemisphere.²⁵ Because of Guiteau's crime the plan was postponed but finally on November 29, 1881, the invitation was sent by Mr. Blaine. The congress was to convene in Washington, on November 22, 1882, and had for its sole aim

to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife. . . . For some years past a growing disposition has been manifest by certain states of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration

²⁴ See Gail Hamilton, pp. 506, 510, 519-520, and James G. Blaine, *James A. Garfield* (Memorial address pronounced in the House of Representatives February 27, 1882, before the Departments of the Government of the United States by James G. Blaine, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1882, p. 48). Also see Blaine's open letter addressed to President Arthur in the *New York Tribune*, Saturday, February 4, 1882, as well as Blaine's letter to the *Chicago Weekly Magazine*, September 16, 1882.

²⁵ On January 21, 1880, a bill, No. 1095, 46th cong., 2nd sess. had been introduced into the United States senate, by David Davis of Illinois at the request of Mr. Hinton Rowen Helper, to encourage closer commercial relationship between the United States and the several republics of South and Central America and Brazil. The scheme involved the building of a transcontinental railroad. The Conference was to meet in Washington the third Monday in June, 1880, and \$50,000 was to be appropriated to defray expenses. The bill was referred to the Committee on Commerce. See *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., pp. 293-4.

rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the government of the United States to see that this country is in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator. . . . The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good-will and active co-operation of all the states of the western hemisphere, . . . in the interest of humanity and for the common weal of nations. He conceives that none of the governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a state of war, and especially of a war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the chiefs of governments on the Continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. And he looks with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will serve to show the broadness of our common humanity and the strength of the ties which bind us all together as a great and harmonious system of American Commonwealths. . . . The President is especially desirous to have it understood that, in putting forth this invitation, the United States does not assume the position of counseling, or attempting, through the voice of the Congress, to counsel any determinate solution of existing questions which may now divide any of the countries of America. Such questions cannot properly come before the Congress. Its mission is higher. It is to provide for the interests of all in the future, not to settle the individual differences of the present. For this reason, especially, the President has indicated a day for the assembling of the Congress so far in the future as to have a good ground for hope that by the time named the present situation in the South Pacific coast [War of the Pacific] will be happily terminated, and that those engaged in the contest may take peaceable part in the discussions and solution of the general question affecting in an equal degree the well-being of all.

It seems also desirable to disclaim in advance any purpose on the part of the United States to prejudge the issues to be presented to the Congress. It is far from the interest of this government to appear before the Congress as in any sense the protector of its neighbors or the predestined and necessary arbitrator of their disputes. The United States will enter into the deliberations of the Congress on the same footing as the other powers represented, and with the loyal determination to approach any proposed solution, not merely in its own interest, or with a view to asserting its own power, but as a single member

among many co-ordinate and coequal states. So far as the influence of this government may be potential, it will be exerted in the direction of conciliating whatever conflicting interests of blood, or government, or historical tradition may necessarily come together in response to a call embracing such vast and diverse elements.²⁶

Before any answers could be received from the various countries regarding the Peace Congress, Mr. Blaine was superseded as secretary of state by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen who assumed office December 19, 1881.²⁷ The first answer, of which all received were of acceptance, was that of Venezuela, dated January 7, 1882.²⁸ Perhaps Gúzman Blanco, President of that Republic, expressed the opinion of a majority of the states when he said:

. . . The idea is so transcendental, elevated, far-seeing, and practical that . . . I hasten personally to express . . . my felicitations to the President and statesmen who direct the policy of

²⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. for 1881, pp. 13-15; the Congress was to be held under the auspices of the United States government which was to supply a meeting place, take charge of all necessary arrangements, meet all the material requirements of the congress, and provide for reporting, interpreting, and printing all the proceedings and protocols in Spanish as well as in English. The only expense to be incurred by the other countries was that of maintaining their commissioners. Two commissioners were to be sent by each state represented, one of whom could preferably speak English. See also *Foreign Relations* 1882, pp. 384, 385, enclosures Nos. 3 and 5, in No. 332.

²⁷ "Mr. Blaine," the *New York Nation* said editorially December 15, 1881, "retires leaving considerable diplomatic confusion behind him, and fully justifying the apprehension which we expressed when he took office, that he would prove 'rockety and journalistic' ". If it had not been for Mr. Garfield's illness and death "he would by this time have made far more trouble for us than he has". Then followed a sharp criticism of Blaine for his Chile-Peru-Bolivia diplomacy and entirely overlooking his peace congress scheme. In the same paper under the same date we are informed that "The appointment of Mr. Frelinghuysen as Secretary of State will be generally regarded as a 'safe' one. . . . He is without that brilliancy which likes to exhibit itself, and that restless ambition which constantly wants to be doing something."

²⁸ Guatemala answered January 12, 1882; Brazil, February 8; Salvador, February 13; Nicaragua, February 14; Honduras, February 20; Bolivia, February 24; Costa Rica, February 25; and Mexico, March 23 (*Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4 51st cong., 1st sess., pp. 258-269). Before the other states could accept, the invitations were recalled.

North America. The future of South America may be looked upon as assured under the safeguard of the great Republic, which is at once our teacher and our model.²⁹

Two days after the date of the first acceptance of the invitation by an Hispanic-American state the invitation was practically cancelled by Secretary Frelinghuysen,³⁰ when, in a communication addressed to Mr. Trescott,³¹ he said:

The United States is at peace with all the nations of the earth, and the President wishes, hereafter, to determine whether it will conduce to that general peace, which we would cherish, for this government, to enter into negotiations and consultations for the promotion of peace with selected friendly nationalities without extending a like confidence to other people with whom the United States is on equally friendly terms. If such partial confidence would create jealousy and ill-will, peace, the object sought by such consultation, would not be promoted. The principles controlling the relations of the republics of this hemisphere with other nationalities may, on investigation, be found to be so well-established that little would be gained at this time by reopening a subject which is not novel.

As a result of this statement of affairs and the hint at the impracticability of holding a peace congress by the secretary of state, Mr. Blaine wrote, under date of February 3, 1882, an open letter to President Arthur as follows:³²

The suggestion of a Congress of all the American nations to assemble in the city of Washington for the purpose of agreeing on such a basis of arbitration for international troubles as would remove all possibility of war on the western hemisphere was warmly approved by your predecessor. The assassination of July 2 prevented his issuing the invitations to the American states. After your accession to the Presidency, I acquainted you with the project and submitted to you a draft for such an invitation. You received the suggestion with the most appreciative con-

²⁹ Blanco to United States Minister, Carter, Caracas, January 5, 1882 (*Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., p. 258).

³⁰ James G. Blaine, *Political Discussions, Legislative, Diplomatic and Popular*, 1856-1886. Norwich, Conn., Henry Bell Publishing Company, 1887, p. 406.

³¹ *Foreign Relations*, 1882, pp. 57-58.

³² *New York Tribune*, February 4, 1882.

sideration, and after carefully examining the form of the invitation, directed that it be sent. It was accordingly dispatched in November. . . .

After quoting the above dispatch of Frelinghuysen's, he continued:

If I correctly apprehend the meaning of these words it is that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a Congress of 'selected nationalities' of America. This is certainly a new position for the United States to assume, and one which I earnestly beg you will not permit this government to occupy. . . . Two presidents of the United States in the year 1881, adjudged it to be expedient that the American powers should meet in Congress for the sole purpose of agreeing upon some basis for arbitration of differences that may arise between them, and for the prevention, as far as possible, of war in the future. If that movement is now to be arrested for fear that it may give offense in Europe, the voluntary humiliation of this government could not be more complete, unless we should petition the European governments for the privilege of holding the Congress.

The meeting of such a congress, he said, would place the United States in an enviable position in the eyes of European states and could not possibly create jealousy and ill-will toward us upon their part. Instead, it would gain prestige for the United States government. The menace of Hispanic American conflicts

influenced President Garfield, and, as I supposed, influenced yourself to desire a friendly conference of all the nations of America to devise methods of permanent peace and consequent prosperity for all. Shall the United States now turn back, hold aloof and refuse to exert its great moral power for the advantage of its weaker neighbors?

The ex-secretary admonished the president not to recall the invitations before considering the dire results, and added:

Those you have invited may decline, and, having now cause to doubt their welcome, will, perhaps, do so.

After suggesting that the assembling of the Congress might prove of great advantage in increasing our Hispanic American trade, he concludes:

It will in all events be a friendly and auspicious beginning in the direction of American influence and American trade in a large field which we have hitherto greatly neglected and which has been practically monopolized by our commercial rivals in Europe.³³

Perhaps, influenced somewhat by Blaine's public letter, and perhaps, by other circumstances, President Arthur, on April 18, 1882, in a special message to congress in which he submitted the circular invitation to a peace congress, said:³⁴

In giving this invitation I was not aware that there existed differences between several of the Republics of South America which would militate against the happy results which might otherwise be expected from such an assemblage. The differences indicated are such as exist between Chile and Peru, between Mexico and Guatemala, and between the states of Central America. It was hoped that these differences would disappear before the time fixed for the meeting of the Congress. This hope has not been realized.

Having observed that the authority of the President to convene such a Congress has been questioned, I beg leave to state that the Constitution confers upon the President the power, by and with the consent of the Senate, to make treaties, and that this provision confers the power to make all requisite measures to initiate them, and to this end the President may freely confer with one or several commissioners or delegates from other nations. The Congress contemplated by the invitation could only effect any valuable results by its conclusions eventually taking the form of a treaty of peace between the states represented; and, besides the invitation to the states of North and South America is merely a preliminary act, of which constitutionality or the want of it can hardly be affirmed.

³³ One critic of Mr. Blaine (Hall, *Mr. Blaine and His Foreign Policy*, pp. 28-29), in speaking of this letter, said that it is "an excellent example of a certain mental phenomenon which an incisive writer has defined as a fixed idea, generating a detailed narrative, to support and confirm it." "How a peace Congress can 'insure production and consumption' and 'stimulate the demand for articles which American manufacturers can furnish with profit' it is impossible to see. The decay of our South American trade is due to our high tariff. . . . The evil cannot be cured by a synod of gentlemen engaging in the discussion of abstract principles" (meaning a peace Congress). The *New York Nation* (February 9, 1882) called the letter a "political manifesto, if not a declaration of war against the administration".

³⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII, 97-98.

It has been suggested that while the international Congress would have no power to affect the rights of nationalities, there represented, still Congress might be unwilling to subject the existing treaty rights of the United States on the Isthmus and elsewhere on the continent to be clouded and rendered uncertain by the expression of the opinion of a Congress composed largely of interested parties.

I am glad to have it in my power to refer to the Congress of the United States, as I now do, the propriety of convening the suggested international Congress, that I may thus be informed of its views, which it will be my pleasure to carry out.

Inquiry having been made by some of the Republics invited whether it is intended that this international Congress shall convene, it is important that Congress should at as early a day as is convenient inform me by resolution or otherwise of its opinion in the premises. My action will be in harmony with such expression.³⁵

³⁵ On May 15, 1882, the *New York Daily Tribune* contained a letter addressed to the Editor and signed; "Hickory". It may have been written by Gail Hamilton, although there is no proof to that effect. "I am sure there must be a 'felt want' in the State Department. An immediate addition to the library should be made of Quackenbos' *Rhetoric* and Mrs. Ward's *Home Manners*. . . . We are again called upon to reconcile conflicting emotions over the President's sincere but shying hospitality." After declaring caustically that we should overlook the "little bickerings when we invite company" such as the Hispanic American states, and, if possible, rather compose them instead of drawing their attention to them, the writer reprimands the president for calling off the congress so early. "Hospitable if spasmodic host, what is the hurry? Time is not half up yet . . . only five months have gone. There are seven months still left for our wayward sisters to kiss and be friends. . . . What has frozen the general current of the President's soul that gushed so peacefully last fall? What blight has fallen on the executive heart, that the hope which, in November, 1880, was strong enough to bud and bloom into a full-blown invitation to distant countries, has now in this green-growing April, wilted into a petition to an unconcerned Congress at home?" In speaking of a possible recall of the invitation, the writer says: "But great heavens, Mr. President, the deed is done. . . . What sort of home manners is this which invites people thousands of miles away, and four months after appeals to a Congress, which confessedly has nothing to do with the matter, to know whether it is proper or not." "Has the United States been accustomed to play this practical joke on the world?" The whole message is "better suited to boudoir chat than to the smooth, matured conclusions of a state paper". We should not expect from the State Department such "varied inelegance of this school-girl syntax. . . . What remains for the United States to do? Congress must say either yes or no. If yes, will the President issue another invitation affirming that the first was a 'feeler'? . . . and how are the Republics to know that four months hence the President may not be

Turning now to the action taken in congress during the period in question (until the end of 1882) with respect to an all-American movement, it will be noticed that the first step was taken on February 1, 1882, when Senator Windon introduced a resolution to the effect that the president inform the senate by submitting all correspondence relating to the proposed peace congress.³⁶ On February 6, 1882, Mr. Springer introduced a resolution into the house stating that since a letter had recently appeared in the newspapers purporting to be the invitation to the peace congress and signed by Blaine, and since the president had not mentioned the matter in his message of December 1, 1881, and requesting the president to inform the house whether the said letter was a correct or incorrect copy and to submit all correspondence regarding the peace congress to the house, together with the authority under which the president can call such a congress. This was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.³⁷ On February 20, 1882, Mr. Call introduced into the senate a resolution to the effect that the United States should adopt measures to settle the War of the Pacific, and to convene a

seized with another qualm and appeal, say to the Supreme Court for its opinion of the propriety of the measure? . . . And suppose Congress says no. Will we write to the Republics: 'You shall not come. I had a perfect right to invite you and I did invite you. But, Congress, which had no finger in the pie till I took and jabbed it in, now pronounces against the pie, and so do I. I gave the invitation, not thinking much about it, and never dreaming you would accept. But seeing you stir in the matter, I bestirred myself also, and take it all back.' In either case, whether Simon says up or Simon says down, the President is predestined to wiggle-waggle."

In an editorial under date of April 21, 1882, the *New York Tribune* accuses Frelinghuysen of casting a doubt in the president's mind as to the propriety of calling such a congress: "Suppose President Arthur should now invite the members of the Diplomatic Corps to dine at the White House on the 1st of May and a few days hence Mr. Frelinghuysen should whisper around in social circles of Washington that the President was not quite sure that the dinner would come off and then the President publicly asked Congress whether it was wise" to give such a dinner. "That is precisely what the President has done with the independent governments of North and South America."

³⁶ *Congressional Record* (Senate), 47th congress, 1st sess., XIII., part 1, p. 781. This was called for by request of Secretary Blaine. See Blaine's letter to *New York Tribune* of February 2, 1882.

³⁷ *Congressional Record* (House), 47th cong., 1st sess., XIII., part 1, 924.

peace congress at Washington, for the purpose of settling all existing disputes and for preventing others in the future.³⁸ On April 24, 1882, Mr. Cox of New York introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in regard to the calling of a peace congress to consider, besides peace, trade reciprocity.³⁹ On the same day, Mr. Cockrell introduced into the senate a bill providing for a paid commission to visit Hispanic America for the purpose of obtaining facts "to be utilized in extending friendly and commercial intercourse" and to determine the attitude of Hispanic America toward an international railroad and postal communication.⁴⁰ Also on the same day, Mr. Morgan of Alabama, introduced into the senate a bill to promote "closer commercial relations" between this country and the Hispanic American states, and provide for the building of an intercontinental railroad. The president was authorized to convene a congress of American states in Washington at a time to be fixed in 1882.⁴¹ On June 19, 1882, Mr. Moore introduced a bill into the house for the purpose of establishing an international peace commission, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.⁴² On June 28, 1882, Mr. Hoar introduced a joint resolution confirming the original invitation of the president to a peace congress to be held in Washington on November 22 of the same year, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.⁴³ On July 3 a similar resolution was introduced into the house by Mr. Wance and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.⁴⁴

³⁸ *Ibid.* (Senate), part 2, p. 1284. The bill was laid on the table but was considered, March 14, 1882 (*ibid.*, p. 1888), when Mr. Call spoke upon it (*ibid.*, p. 1891).

³⁹ *Ibid.* (House), part 4, p. 3226.

⁴⁰ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., 1889-90, XVI. 294-295. A similar bill was introduced into the house and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-297. This bill had been introduced into the senate on January 21, 1880, and referred to the Committee on Commerce. A similar bill was introduced into the house also on April 24, 1882, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. On June 20, 1882, it was recommended that it be not passed.

⁴² *Congressional Record* (House), 47th cong., 1st sess., XIII., part 5, p. 5090.

⁴³ *Ibid.* (Senate), part 6, p. 5430.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* (House), part 6, p. 5595.

It was now July and still no legislative action resulting in definite preparation for a peace congress had been taken.⁴⁵ The next month, on August 9, 1882, Secretary of State Frelinghuysen, in a circular letter⁴⁶ to our representatives in the Hispanic American states, definitely recalled the invitations to the congress, stating that the president had hoped that by the date set for the convening of the congress all the questions dividing the American nations would have been settled, but

that inasmuch as that peaceful condition of the South American republics which was contemplated as essential to a profitable and harmonious assembling of the Congress does not exist, and having, besides, on the 18th day of April, 1882, submitted the proposition to Congress, without evoking an expression of its views on the subject, and no provision having been made by it for such a Congress, he is constrained to postpone the projected meeting until some future day.

While thus giving due notification to the friendly governments interested, the President cannot but express his belief that the fact of such a Congress having been called has not been without benefit, it having directed the attention of the people of the United States, as well as of the republics, of South America, to the importance of having a more defined policy, to be satisfactory to all, governing the international relations of the republics. . . .

In response to this formal revocation of the invitation some of the Hispanic American states communicated an answer.⁴⁷ Guatemala

expressed great regret that a project of such vital importance to the Central American states should have failed even temporarily and hoped it would be revived at no distant day.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Between June 5, 1882 and August 7, twenty-three petitions had been introduced into both houses of congress requesting that such a peace conference be called. The states represented by these were Michigan, Vermont, Iowa, Texas, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Indiana, Tennessee, Nebraska, Ohio, and the District of Columbia.

⁴⁶ *Foreign Relations*, 1882, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., pp. 273-277. Ecuador responded September 16, 1882, Salvador October 3, Uruguay, October 12, and Paraguay, October 17.

⁴⁸ Blaine, *Political Discussions, Legislative, Diplomatic, and Popular*, p. 408.

Salvador regretted the step because the congress would have exerted the

most beneficent and transcendent influence in promotion of the tranquillity and progress of the nations of the Continent.

and hoped that "so beneficent an idea" had

not been abandoned, and that later, when the exceptional conditions through which several sister republics are now passing shall have changed for the better, it may prove possible to realize in practice with enthusiasm and success this grand idea. . . .⁴⁹

Uruguay spoke of the plan as being a "felicitous idea" and believed that the results of the congress would have

proved exceedingly efficacious in the maintenance of peace in the countries of America thus promoting their progress and welfare.⁵⁰

On the day (September 16, 1882) that the first response to the revocation of the peace congress was written there appeared in the *Chicago Weekly Magazine* a letter from James G. Blaine which, taken together with the statement made by President Arthur in his annual message to congress of December 4, 1882,⁵¹ closes this first episode in the Pan-American movement.

Mr. Blaine stated in his letter that President Garfield's administration had as its purpose a two-fold foreign policy; first, to bring about peace in South America; and, second, to cultivate commercial relations which would prove profitable to the United States. He continued:

To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. . . . As soon as the project was understood in South America, it received a most cordial approval. . . . There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the Congress. . . ."

⁴⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, 51st cong., 1st sess., pp. 275-276.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

⁵¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII. 131.

After briefly reviewing the step which have been followed in detail, he stated that, in referring the subject to congress there would have resulted, if it had been considered at any length, a debate greatly "intermixed with personal and party politics, and the project would be ultimately wrecked" as was the usefulness of the Panama Congress of 1826 by the same process. "The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Congress had closed its labors." Continuing he said:

The assembling of the Peace Congress . . . was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the Conference—which would not have exceeded \$10,000—could not, with reason or propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

It is the duty, Mr. Blaine asserted, of the United States to restore and keep peace among the other American republics, for if this could be accomplished, "a most significant and important result would have followed. . . A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the states of North and South America, which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection." As a further result a trade conference would probably have taken place in the near future from which "the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages".

After summarizing the trade situation between the United States and Hispanic America and discussing the protective tariff and free trade policies of the United States, he concluded:

In no event could harm have resulted from the assembling of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. . . The labors of the Congress would have probably resulted in a well-digested system of arbitration. . . Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the

selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.⁵²

On December 4, 1882, President Arthur, in his second annual message to congress, concluded, after reviewing the steps taken regarding the peace congress:

I am unwilling to dismiss this subject without assuring you of my support of any measures the wisdom of Congress may devise for the promotion of peace on this continent and throughout the world, and I trust that the time is nigh when, with the universal assent of civilized peoples, all international differences shall be determined, without resort to arms, by the benignant processes of arbitration.⁵³

Thus the episode was closed only to be revived again some seven years later with the peace congress a *fait accompli*. There remains now only to examine very briefly the attitude of public opinion toward the movement just detailed. As one of Mr. Blaine's biographers⁵⁴ has aptly said, Frelinghuysen's reversal of Blaine's foreign policy

left Mr. Blaine in the unfortunate position of having proposed and entered upon a course of action which was so suddenly abandoned as to leave it without fair trial. He was judged by the ragged ends of his policy,⁵⁵

and especially by the stand he had taken in the war of the Pacific.

⁵² *Chicago Weekly Magazine*, September 16, 1882.

⁵³ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII. 131.

⁵⁴ C. W. Balestier, *James G. Blaine*, New York, R. Worthington, 1884, p. 178.

⁵⁵ Mr. Blaine naturally was extremely disappointed by this fact and Mrs. Blaine (*Letters of Mrs. J. G. Blaine*, I. p. 276) wrote: " . . . The presidency may go, but he would like to carry out his ideas of statecraft in 1885 as Secretary of State." See Gail Hamilton for similar statement in a later letter of Mrs. Blaine, p. 564. Mr. Blaine himself stated before a meeting of the Committee of the House of Representatives which during the spring of 1882 inquired into Mr.

In an editorial dated February 9, 1882, the *New York Nation* remarked:

On the whole . . . the great American Confederation appears to us to be an ephemeral conception, and the president has done well in declaring, through Mr. Frelinghuysen, that, as to this project, he 'prefers time for deliberation'. Deliberation will probably be the end of it.

Carl Schurz was extremely opposed to Blaine's policy with regard to Hispanic America, saying that the United States must "especially beware of the tropics". He further accused Blaine of grandstand play in this respect, saying that he is

a peculiar and objectionable example of those politicians to whom politics is a sport—a great game played before millions of spectators—in which success means triumph of a person rather than the promotion of social truth and justice.⁵⁶

Mrs. Blaine, in a letter to her daughter in Paris, December 26, 1881, said, when speaking more especially of Blaine's dealing with Chile, Peru, and Bolivia,

your father's policy, which is decidedly American, you will see very much criticized, and you must remember that this is really greatly to his credit. A policy which European countries applaud, could not be very American.⁵⁷

On the other hand, there were many persons in profound sympathy with this policy.⁵⁸ John Sherman, in a speech at

Blaine's policy in dealings with the belligerents in the War of the Pacific: "If there is any chapter in my life . . . of which I am proud, and of the complete vindication of which in history I feel sure, it is that in connection with the policy laid down by the administration of President Garfield with respect to South America" (*House Report No. 1790*, 47th cong., 1st sess., p. 1242). He was also convinced that the United States would have to "assume a much more decided tone in South America", or else "back out" and surrender that demand to Europe (*House Report No. 1790*, 47th cong., 1st sess., p. 352).

⁵⁶ *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols., New York, The McClure Company, 1908, III. 404.

⁵⁷ Mrs. Blaine's *Letters*, 277.

⁵⁸ The campaign material of 1884 in support of Blaine of course favored his policy with regard to South America. Perhaps the coolest expression of this

Washington, ratifying the nomination of Blaine and Logan on June 19, 1884, spoke in favor of Blaine's policy: "What we want now is an American policy broad enough to embrace the Continent . . . until there shall be a brotherhood of republics".⁵⁹ Edward Everett Hale, who had had many conversations with Mr. Blaine during the years 1880 to 1884, and who was a profound believer in international peace, by the end of Arthur's administration "had come to feel that the question was one of deep importance".⁶⁰ In a speech of Senator Harrison at Cincinnati, Ohio, the ideas of Mr. Blaine regarding a peace congress were reviewed and commented upon as being greatly beneficial to both this country and Hispanic America.⁶¹ Mrs. Blaine said:

His policy is a patriotic one, and the people are going to so recognize it. Not a selfish thought is in it, but it is in all its ramifications, American.⁶²

So much, then, for this phase of the situation; the next step is to examine the period between 1882 and the convening of the first Pan-American Peace Congress in 1889.

may be found in *The Lives of the Four Candidates, including the Biography of Each*, Chicago, Elder Publishing Company, 1884. "So far as it (his South American policy) is understood by the people, it is believed to be broad, patriotic, and generous. It struck an according sentiment in the people of the country." *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵⁹ *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (Sherman), II. 888-889.

⁶⁰ Edward Everett Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, 2 vols., Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1917, II. 380.

⁶¹ C. W. Balestier, *James G. Blaine*, pp. 183-185. The speech was made prior to 1884. For more campaign material see J. C. Ridpath, *Life and Public Services of James G. Blaine*, Boston, Martin Garrison Company, 1884. *The Chicago Tribune* was also an upholder of Blaine's Hispanic American policy with respect to a peace congress.

⁶² Mrs. Blaine, *Letters*, I. 296-297. This statement was made partly in connection with his Chilean policy as well as with his peace congress policy. "What difference," she writes with reference to Frelinghuysen's reversal of Blaine's policy, "does it make to him [Blaine] that Frelinghuysen is a nice man who does a dirty thing? He knows the act and the man, and holds the latter to account for the former." Letter dated February 2, 1882, to M. in Paris. Many other letters were written expressing this and similar thoughts. See Vol. I., pp. 293-295, 300-301, 306-307, 312-313; and Vol. II., pp. 13-14.

INTERIM 1882-1889

On February 8, 1883, Mr. Cockrell of Missouri introduced a bill similar to that of April 24, 1882⁶³ providing for the appointment of a special commission to visit Hispanic America to acquire information regarding the feelings of those peoples toward strengthening commercial relations with the United States. At the same time a similar bill was introduced into the house.⁶⁴ On December 11, 1883, Senator Sherman re-introduced a bill similar to that which had been previously introduced by Mr. Morgan of Alabama, April 24, 1882,⁶⁵ to provide for an Hispanic-American Commission which, among other things, was to determine the attitude of Hispanic American states toward building a transcontinental railroad. A similar bill was also introduced into the house by Mr. Jordan of Ohio.⁶⁶ On the 7th of January, 1884, Mr. Townshend of Illinois introduced into the house a joint resolution

requesting the President to invite the co-operation of the governments of American nations in securing and establishing a free commercial intercourse among those nations and an American Customs Union.

This also provided for a system of weights and measures. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Commerce where it died.⁶⁷ Two months later, on March 3, Mr. Cockrell introduced into the senate a similar bill to the ones proposed previously on April 24, 1882, and February 8, 1883, providing for a paid Hispanic-American commission consisting of three men serving a two-year term. The bill, with the extra feature providing for a commercial congress of American states, was favorably reported and made an amendment to the diplomatic and consular appro-

⁶³ See note 40.

⁶⁴ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, p. 297. This bill was reintroduced by Mr. Cockrell into the Senate on March 3, 1884. See page 45.

⁶⁵ See note 41.

⁶⁶ *Sen. Ex. Doc. 232*, part 4, p. 297.

⁶⁷ *Congressional Record* (House), 48th cong., 1st sess., XV., part 1, p. 241.

priation bill of 1884. To this Secretary Frelinghuysen objected.⁶⁸ The bill in its final form as passed was embodied in the act of congress making appropriations for the consular and diplomatic service of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885. It provided:

For three commissioners to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, at a compensation of \$7,500 each. Said commissioners shall ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America; and for that purpose they shall visit such countries in Central and South America as the President may direct. . . .

G. H. Sharpe of New York (resigned in March, 1885, and replaced by William E. Curtis), S. O. Thacker, and Thomas C. Reynolds were appointed the three commissioners.⁶⁹ A bill to

⁶⁸ "I am thoroughly convinced of the advisability of knitting closely our relations with the states of this continent, and no effort on my part shall be wanting to accomplish a result so consonant with the constant policy of this country." He then stated that the added feature of a peace congress was objectionable to him in this case and at this time and added: "I fear that a Congress so soon to meet without previous conference with the several governments, and without the preparation of a well-digested programme for discussion, might be unable to accomplish a valuable result. The views of the states which are to be parties to the conference should be obtained, their wishes and aims carefully considered, and thereupon the scope and purpose of the Congress carefully defined and outlined in the invitation." After offering other objections to too hasty preparation for a congress, he adds: "The true plan, it seems to me, is to make a series of reciprocity treaties with the states of Central and South America. . . . By these treaties we might secure . . . further substantial advantages, such, for example, as the free navigation of their coasts, rivers and lakes." He suggested, too, that it would be of advantage to have a uniform silver coin used in trade with these countries. Finally, he suggested that the president of the United States appoint a commission to consider the interests of the countries; to send delegates to confer with the Hispanic-American governments and ascertain their desires, and then report to the president and if he sees fit, to call a convention of Hispanic-American states. See *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, pp. 298-308.

⁶⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, pp. 298-309. During 1884-1885 the commission held several conferences with the merchants and manufacturers in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco, and afterwards visited the Hispanic-American countries. As a result they recommended that "an invitation be extended by the United States to the several other govern-

the above effect had been introduced into the house and favorably reported May 7, 1884.⁷⁰

On December 21, 1885, Mr. Townshend re-introduced his joint resolution of January 7, 1884, to establish a customs union of American republics. This bill was adversely reported on April 15, 1886.⁷¹ On January 26, 1886, Mr. Worthington introduced into the house a joint resolution giving the president power to call a congress of American states, to arrange for the arbitration of all national differences. On April 15, 1886, this resolution was also reported adversely.⁷² The next month, on February 8, Mr. H. R. Helper re-introduced into both houses of congress a bill authorizing the president to call a congress of American nations to meet some time in 1886 to consider questions of reciprocal commercial relations and the construction of a transcontinental railroad. This bill likewise was reported adversely.⁷³ Senator Logan of Illinois, on February 15, 1886, introduced a bill authorizing the president to send delegates to an international American congress to arrange for "arbitration of all national differences". The delegates were not to exceed ten in number and were to be divided equally among the political parties, and serve without pay. On May 6 this

ments of America to join at Washington in a conference to promote commercial intercourse and to prepare some plan of arbitration." "Unless," they continued, "we have been completely misled by the expressions and protestations of the ruling powers of each and every one of the governments we have visited, the only estrangement possible between them and us will flow from our own indifference and neglect. . . . Every President and Cabinet officer, every leading and thoughtful citizen we met, joined in the sentiment of justified surprise that our country had taken the initiative by this embassy in bringing about more cordial and hearty connection between the various republics and our own." If it be possible to carry out this plan, "we shall plant seed in a genial soil, beneath a propitious sky." Report to accompany bill, House of Representatives, 7884, p. 320, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4. See also Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII., 239-240, in regard to the commission in the Fourth Annual Message of President Arthur, December 1, 1884; also *ibid.*, p. 276, for report concerning same by President Arthur on February 13, 1885, and 370 for the final report sent to Congress by President Cleveland January 12, 1886.

⁷⁰ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, p. 308.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-310.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

bill suffered the same fate as the preceding ones.⁷⁴ On February 23, 1886, Senator Frye of Maine introduced a bill "to promote the political and commercial prosperity of the American nations". The president was authorized to invite the Hispanic-American states to meet at a congress to be held at Washington, October 1, 1887, to decide upon questions of "mutual interest and common welfare". Each state was to have one vote regardless of the number of its delegates. The questions to be considered were: (a) promotion of peace; (b) an American customs union; (c) the establishment of steamship lines between Pan-American ports; (d) the establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations; (e) the adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures; (f) the protection of property, patent rights, copyrights, and trademarks; and (g) the formulation of a plan of arbitration. One hundred thousand dollars was to be appropriated to defray the expenses of the meeting. The president was to appoint, with the advice and consent of the senate, twenty-four delegates to represent the United States, three of whom should be versed in international law and the remaining in agriculture, manufacture, and the export and import trade. On May 6, 1886, this bill was favorably reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an added eighth item in the list of considerations for the congress to the effect that the delegates could consider any other subject relating to the welfare of the states concerned. Also the secretary of state was to provide for the printing and publication of all the proceedings of the conference. The report of the committee was accompanied by a long statement by the members of the South American commission. At the request of Senator Whitthorne the bill was taken up and considered on June 12, 1886. On June 17, the Senate passed the bill and it was straightway sent to the house and referred to the committee on foreign affairs but no action was taken.⁷⁵

On March 16, 1886, Mr. Reagan of Texas introduced into the house a bill to provide for a conference of American nations

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.

⁷⁵ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 4, pp. 312-313 and 329-373.

to determine a standard silver trade coin "and for other purposes". The congress was to meet within six months after the passage of the bill at a place agreed upon by at least three of the governments to be represented.⁷⁶ On the 29th of the same month, William McKinley of Ohio introduced a bill in the house for the purpose of convening a congress "to arrange the settlement of natural differences by arbitration". This meeting was to be held in Washington or New York. Not more than twelve delegates should represent the United States, and these were to be divided equally among the leading political parties. Six of these persons were to be versed in international law. Some \$30,000 were to be appropriated to cover expenses.⁷⁷ The same day Mr. McCreary of Kentucky introduced into the house a bill to give the president power to call a congress of Hispanic-American states to "encourage peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations". Three commissioners were to be appointed to represent the United States.⁷⁸ On April 15, 1886, this bill was favorably reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the house with one slight addition—that the congress should also consider the "promotion of arbitration". The sum of \$20,000 was to be appropriated to defray expenses. The report was accompanied by elaborate statistics demonstrating the desirability of such a conference; but stating that such a body must not be given power to make final and definite treaties. There was also submitted a minority report signed by Perry Belmont stating: (1) that the aims were only vaguely mentioned; (2) that the provisions were indefinite; and (3) that the president did not initiate the bill and therefore might not approve the acts which the conference should recommend to the United States government and consequently its work would be of no avail as far as we were concerned. This report was likewise elaborated greatly by statistics.⁷⁹

At the beginning of the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, Sherman re-introduced Mr. Helper's bill in the senate regarding

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-329.

the intercontinental railroad. Also Mr. Reagan re-introduced his bill to provide for a congress of American states to decide upon a common silver trade coin. Mr. Frye of Maine again introduced his bill which had passed the senate in 1886 and on February 15, 1888, it was reported again favorably from the Committee on Foreign Relations.⁸⁰ In the house, Mr. McKinley re-introduced his bill for determining a plan of arbitration while Mr. Yardley introduced a similar bill in the upper house.⁸¹

On January 4, 1888, Mr. Townshend introduced in the senate a bill "to promote the establishment of free commercial intercourse among the nations of America and the Dominion of Canada by the creation of an American Customs Union or Zollverein." The measures to be considered were practically the same as those which had been suggested by Senator Frye on January 26, 1886. The Congress was to be called by the president on the second Monday in March, 1889, at Washington. Each nation was to have one vote. The United States delegates were to be appointed by the president with one from each state in the union, and to be divided equally among the political parties. They were to serve without pay. One hundred thousand dollars was to be appropriated to pay the expenses of the meeting.⁸²

On the same day, January 4, Mr. McCreary re-introduced his bill of March 29, 1886, into the senate to the effect that the president be authorized to arrange for an international conference. On February 9, 1888, it was reported back favorably. On February 29, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the house reported the bill favorably. Finally, on March 21, 1888, Mr. Frye, after substituting his bill of February 23, 1886, for the one in question, reported the same favorably, and on March 22, it was passed by the senate. The bill then went into conference of a committee appointed March 28. The conference report was submitted to the house and adopted on April 4, 1888, but on the 25th of April it was rejected by the senate. On the 27th, a new conference was ordered, and an agreement being reached, the

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 373-5.

bill was finally passed on the 10th of May, 1888, and on the 24th, it became a law without the president's signature.⁸³

Thus have been traced the legislative steps whereby the congress of 1889-90 was made an accomplished fact. And, as chance would have it, James G. Blaine was once more in the chair of the secretary of state with his cherished hopes about to be realized. The *New York Nation* of October 10, 1889, in commenting on the situation, asserted⁸² that the "law of the last Congress was intended, no doubt, by Democrats in the House, for the benefit of themselves and Cleveland," but the "unexpected democratic defeat of last November has placed the character of our future relations with South America in the hands of Mr. Blaine and of the Republican party. . . .

As the end of the first Cleveland administration wore away, Blaine steadfastly refused to allow his name to be again placed in nomination. Benjamin Harrison was accordingly nominated by the republican party and elected with a republican majority in both houses of congress.

On January 17, 1889, Harrison wrote to Blaine offering him the position of secretary of state. "We have already," he said,

a pretty full understanding of each other's views as to the general policy which should characterize our foreign relations. I am especially interested in the improvement of our relations with the Central and South American states. . . . In all this I am sure you will be a most willing coadjutor, for your early suggestions and earnest advocacy have directed public attention to the subject.⁸⁴

On January 21, Blaine accepted the offer, but made at that time

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 375. The *New York Nation* said on October 10, 1889, in speaking of this bill, that it was "the work of a Democratic Foreign Affairs Committee of the last House, promoted in the Senate by Senator Sherman." On September 12, 1889, it spoke of the law as being "so diffuse and sprawling that it embraces among the objects to be sought by the Conference almost everything a government can attempt."

⁸⁴ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, pp. 651-652. Mrs. Blaine was greatly impressed with this letter to her husband and in a letter to Jamie, January 20, 1889, said: "Your father will accept this trust, and gladly" (*Letters*, II., 231).

no particular mention of the South American affairs to which Harrison had alluded.⁸⁵

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE 1889-90

Under date of July 13, 1888, the then secretary of state, T. F. Bayard, in accordance with the act already mentioned, issued invitations to all the governments of Central and South America, together with Haiti and San Domingo.⁸⁶ "I have to call your particular attention," he said,

to the scope and object of the conference suggested, which, as will be observed, is consultative and recommendatory only. The proposed conference will be wholly without power to bind any of the parties thereto, and it is not designed to affect or impair in any degree the treaty relations now existing between any of the states which may be represented.

Certain topics were to be discussed,⁸⁷

but the field is expressly left open to any particular state to bring before the conference such other subjects as may appear important to the welfare of the several states represented.

The meeting was scheduled to open at Washington, on October 2, 1889. Each state was to determine the number of its delegates, but could have only one vote.⁸⁸ On August 10, 1888, the

⁸⁵ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 653; also Mrs. Blaine's *Letters*, II. 234. Mrs. Blaine wrote later (II. 253): "Mr. Blaine enjoys the return to the State Department . . . thoroughly." But a little later in a letter to H., March 15, 1889 (II. 257) she wrote that Harrison "is of such a nature that you do not feel at all at liberty to enjoy yourself".

⁸⁶ *Pan-American Conferences and Their Significance*, supplement to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1906, p. 6; also *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 1, 51st cong., 1st. sess., 1889-90, XIV. 9-11.

⁸⁷ See *ante*, the bill introduced by Senator Frye on February 23, 1886, for the eight propositions to be discussed; also *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 231*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 1889-90, XIII, 1-2.

⁸⁸ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 1, pp. 9-11.

first state to reply, Guatemala, sent its note of acceptance.⁸⁹ In all there were eighteen states represented.⁹⁰

On October 1, 1889, the *New York Tribune* contained an editorial aiming to show that public opinion was now ready for such a conference as was about to assemble,

It may be instructive to recall the acrid criticisms and envenomed denunciations which the original proposition called forth in 1881. Mr. Blaine's enemies then condemned as incipient Jingoism and a policy of diplomatic adventure this statesmanlike expedient for bringing the nations of the continent into closer and more harmonious relations with one another. They ridiculed it as a fantastic and "viewy" scheme. . . . The Congress is now about to meet for the same objects contemplated by Secretary Blaine in 1881,⁹¹ and there is neither criticism nor ridicule from any quarter. . . . Partisanship succeeded in temporarily discrediting it eight years ago, but an enlightened public opinion now accepts and sanctions it as the embodiment of the best and oldest traditions of American diplomacy. . . .

Whether public opinion in this country was particularly stirred by the convening of the First Pan-American Conference or not the public was assured that

the assembly has been regarded with much more interest and even curious anticipation in Europe than in this country. It seems to be the European apprehension that there will be a commercial Union of the

⁸⁹ Haiti was the last republic to answer, its note of acceptance being dated October 4, 1889, two days after the conference had convened (*Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 1, pp. 12-29).

⁹⁰ This number does not include Hawaii, which, according to a resolution adopted by the senate February 12, 1890, and the house March 17, and approved by the president, provided for an invitation to be extended to the kingdom of Hawaii to be represented at the conference. As this step was taken so very late, Mr. Blaine, in a letter to Mr. Carter of the Hawaiian legation, dated March 20, 1890, suggested that he should act as the tentative representative of that government until one could be appointed. On March 25, 1890, Mr. Carter accepted Mr. Blaine's suggestion. It was not until the day the conference adjourned. April 19, 1890, that the Hawaiian king accepted the invitation. See *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 232*, part 1, pp. 29-37.

⁹¹ The original invitation in 1881 embodied only the arrangement of a plan for the promotion of peace in the western hemisphere.

North and South American states which will practically exclude other countries.⁹²

In South America there was "almost absolute indifference" on the part of the press of those countries in regard to the congress of American states.

Nothing but the vaguest references to the matter are to be encountered, and these, while expressing an amiable desire for political friendship with the United States, do not at all contemplate any efforts to promote commercial interests.⁹³

At noon on October 2, 1889, the first meeting of the international American conference was opened with thirteen states represented.⁹⁴ The delegates representing the United States were: John B. Henderson, Clement Studebaker, Cornelius N. Bliss, T. Jefferson Coolidge, John F. Harrison, Wm. Henry Trescott, Morris M. Estes, Henry G. Davis, Charles R. Flint and Andrew Carnegie.⁹⁵ After a few minutes of predetermined

⁹² *Harper's Weekly*, October 12, 1889. In the same issue is found the attitude of the chief newspapers of Austria. "There is . . . every reason for reflecting seriously regarding this matter, and for not dismissing it as being too far removed. It would be a serious loss to Europe if the politicians of Washington should succeed in uniting the whole American continent . . . by insurmountable customs barriers."

⁹³ From *Las Novedades*, April 26, 1889, quoted by the *New York Nation* May 9, 1889. This paper at the time was spoken of as the official organ of Spain and South America in the United States and was never enthusiastic over the conference, for nothing could result, it said, but "empty talk". This is an extreme view, of course. On the other hand, we find a great number of persons waxing enthusiastic at the prospect of such a meeting and its results. An earnest hope for future results might be expressed in the words of Dr. Vilarde of Bolivia, a delegate to the conference: "We pray for the introduction into our country of North American energy and business methods" (*Harper's Weekly*, October 12, 1889).

⁹⁴ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 232, part 1, p. 38. The meetings were held in the Wallack Mansion on the corner of Eighteenth and I streets, Washington. The whole edifice had been fixed up as a clubhouse for the delegates, the actual meetings being held in the ballroom (*New York Herald*, October 1, 1889).

⁹⁵ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 231, p. 3. The *New York Herald* of October 1, 1889, spoke of these men as being all—save one or two—the "personal, political or business friends" of Mr. Blaine. It then gave a brief sketch of the public life of each. For a list of the Hispanic-American delegates, see *New York Herald*, October 2, 1889. The *New York Nation*, September 12, 1889, in speaking of the delegates, said that

parliamentary maneuvering, James G. Blaine was elected to the position of president of the conference and thereupon addressed the assemblage in a brief speech.⁹⁶ "No conference of nations," he said,

has ever assembled to consider the welfare of territorial possibilities so vast and to contemplate the possibilities of a future so great and so imposing. . . . We meet in the firm belief that the nations of America ought to be and can be more helpful each to the other than they now are, and that each will find advantage and profit from an enlarged intercourse with the others. . . . It will be a great gain when we shall acquire that common confidence on which all international friendship must rest. It will be a greater gain when we shall be able to draw the people of all American nations into a close acquaintance with each other, an end to be facilitated by more frequent and more rapid intercommunication. It will be the greatest gain when the personal and commercial relations of the American states, south and north, shall be so developed and so regulated that each shall acquire the highest possible advantage from the enlightened and enlarged intercourse of all.⁹⁷

the Hispanic-Americans will only be able to speak Spanish and French and very little English, while the United States delegates will only be able to speak English! The *New York Nation*, on May 9, 1889, cautioned the people of this country not to regard the leaders of Hispanic America as "children in arms". The delegates to the conference were considered by some to be superior in caliber to those of the United States.

⁹⁶ It had been forecast by many papers that Mr. Blaine would be elected to the position of president of the conference. See *New York Tribune*, October 1, 1889.

⁹⁷ *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 1, p. 38. In commenting on this speech, *Harper's Weekly* said, October 19, 1889, it "was felicitous and suitable. It was wisely confined to pleasant and picturesque generalities. It assumed nothing but good feeling, and suggested nothing but harmony. Like other diplomatic utterances, it was intended to say nothing of importance, and it said nothing with grace and skill." The *New York Nation*, October 10, 1889, spoke of Mr. Blaine's remarks as being "a sonorous evasion of the chief ostensible object for which the Conference was drawn up", since not a word was said on reciprocal commercial treaties. Such talk as his "always sounds well whether in Sunday School or on the rostrum of a graduating class". On the other hand, the *New York Herald*, October 4, 1889, spoke of the speech as being "in the happiest vein of that eloquent gentleman. As a welcome to the Nation's guests it was graceful, warm, and generous. He showed rare tact in avoiding all discussion of the subject which calls the delegates together and which will be debated further on when the Congress assumes a more formal shape."

After these remarks Mr. Blaine declared the conference adjourned to meet again only after the official tour of the country by the delegates should have been completed.

The aim of this interesting excursion of the nation's guests at the conference, which lasted from October 3 to November 14, 1889, was primarily for the purpose of impressing upon them the greatness and resources of the United States. Very elaborate preparation had been made by the state department which had organized the tour. A group of military officers, well qualified in the Spanish and Portuguese tongues, were detailed to act as aids to the party. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company undertook to carry the delegates over the entire route of 5,406 miles in a special train of the most luxurious type the nation had yet seen. There was to be no change of cars and the same engine was to be used throughout the trip, which was a novelty for this period. The most minute details were planned ahead of time so that the comfort of the delegates would be perfect.⁹⁸

At 8:15 on the morning of October 3, 1889, the journey commenced. The delegates went first to West Point, then to New York, to Boston and to the manufacturing centers of New England. From there they journeyed through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and back to Illinois and Indiana, into Kentucky and thence back to Washington. The trip occupied forty-two days and the delegates were pretty thoroughly tired out but they had been given a great impression of the wealth, and resources of our country and for that reason the trip was counted successful.⁹⁹

On November 18, 1889, the congress again convened in its second meeting and began to organize for business.¹⁰⁰ The mode of procedure was similar to that of the United States congress. Bills were introduced and referred to committees

⁹⁸ *New York Herald*, October 1, 1889. See the same paper for October 4 also.

⁹⁹ *New York Tribune*, November 10, 1889. The *London Times*, while the trip was in progress, reported the movements of the delegates, generally stating how impressed they were with what they saw and how tired they were becoming.

¹⁰⁰ The first to the fifteenth meetings, inclusive, were taken up in passing on the credentials of the delegates and on organization. From the sixteenth to the seventieth meeting (the last one), the time was spent in the discussion of subjects

for consideration and report. After being reported back from the committees they were then considered by the whole body of delegates, debated, and voted upon.¹⁰¹

Turning now to the actual work of the conference, it will be noted that on January 15, 1890, the report of the Committee on Weights and Measures was submitted to the delegates. On January 24, it was discussed, voted upon, and passed. after amendment.¹⁰² On February 15, 1890, the Railroad Committee reported, and on February 26, its report was discussed and adopted without amendment.¹⁰³ On February 28, the Committee on Customs Unions reported on the subject of Reciprocal Treaties, and on March 17, 24, 29 and April 2, 7, 10, and 12 the matter was discussed. It was finally recommended that any country desiring to form such a treaty was encouraged to do so.¹⁰⁴

On March 24, after the Committee on Communications on the Atlantic had submitted its report, the matter was discussed and adopted without comment.¹⁰⁵ Also the same day the Committee on Pacific Communication reported and its views were adopted without amendment to the effect that maritime, telegraphic, and postal communication was to be encouraged and

for consideration. See *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 231*, p. 90 *et seq.* There was much time spent in quibbling over whether the meetings should be secret or not, and, towards the end, in trying to decide when the conference should adjourn. See *ibid.*, pp. 121-172 and *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 1, pp. 55-59. There was some further delay, also, due to translation of speeches.

¹⁰¹ Blaine attended forty-four of the seventy meetings, which he opened and closed. Meetings lasted from twenty minutes to four or five hours or more. Gail Hamilton said (p. 680) that whenever affairs "became too involved" Mr. Blaine was sent for and "all differences were quickly adjusted". See also *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 231*, pp. 112-114, and 142-143.

¹⁰² *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 232*, part 1, pp. 77-92.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-102. In accordance with this measure an Intercontinental Railway Commission met at Washington, December 4, 1890, and held nineteen meetings, the last one being April 21, 1891. Very elaborate surveys were made over the territory considered for the railroad and the final report was published at Washington, in 1895-98, (namely, *International Railroad Commission Report*) in eight large volumes containing text, tables, maps and profiles.

¹⁰⁴ *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 232*, part 1, pp. 103-264.

¹⁰⁵ *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 232*, part 1, pp. 265-75. This had to do with increase of steamship and other communication between the American nations.

facilitated between American ports.¹⁰⁶ The report of the Committee on Communication on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea was considered on March 21 and on the same day was adopted without amendment.¹⁰⁷ On January 2, the delegate from Mexico had submitted a resolution regarding the nomenclature of merchandise, and on February 10 the Committee on Customs Regulations submitted its report of the matter. The discussion took place on February 19, and on the same day it was concurred in.¹⁰⁸ On March 29, the report of the Committee on Customs Regulations concerning the classification and valuation of merchandise was adopted.

On April 14, there was discussed and adopted the matter of the formation of a Bureau of Information which afterwards became the Bureau of the American Republics. On April 11, 1890, there was adopted the report of the Committee on Port Dues regarding harbor fees and regulations which had been submitted to the conference on March 5 and discussed on March 18, 19, 20 and April 10 and 11. At the same time that this was being discussed there was adopted a resolution with regard to consular fees on March 25.

The month previous to this, on February 28, a resolution concerning sanitary regulation was adopted. On March 3, a report regarding Patents and Trademarks was concurred in, and on the next day, March 4, one concerning private International Law was adopted.

On April 2, 1890, a resolution was adopted relating to an International Monetary Union. On April 14, the report of The Committee on Banking was adopted having to do with the formation of an international bank. The next day a resolution was agreed to respecting the extradition of criminals. Three days later, on April 18, the report of the Committee on Interna-

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-311. The report was submitted to the conference on March 14, 1890.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 312-342. The committee submitted its report to the conference on January 27. It provided for government aid "in establishment of first-class ship service between the several ports". The governments benefited were to give a proportional monetary aid.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 343-50.

tional Law was adopted with regard to claims and diplomatic intervention. The same day a report concerning river navigation was adopted which had been introduced on April 12 and discussed on the day of its passage. It was recommended and adopted, also, on this day, that in the future all differences between an American power and an European power be settled by arbitration,¹⁰⁹ and that the

principle of conquest, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

Also there should be no cessions of territory while the treaty was in effect if made under threat of war.¹¹⁰

Finally on the last day, April 19, 1890, a plan was adopted providing for the arbitration of all disputes. This had been submitted to the conference by the Committee on General Welfare on April 9, and had been discussed on April 14, 16, 17 and 19, when it was finally adopted.¹¹¹

The conference had now completed its work and the time had come for it to close. The final scene was that of Mr. Blaine delivering the concluding remarks.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 232*, pp. 1084-1121. A resolution had been introduced on January 20, by a Venezuelan delegate respecting the British Claims.

¹¹⁰ This principle was discussed and adopted April 18 (*ibid.*, pp. 1122-1148). Other miscellaneous subjects were discussed in this session regarding a memorial tablet to commemorate the meeting, and the building of a memorial library to be used as an archive for Hispanic American literary, historical, and geographical material. A resolution to thank Mr. Blaine and the officers of the conference was concurred in also (*ibid.*, pp. 1153-1168).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 954-1083. Of this John Bassett Moore said later: "As yet this plan represents but an aspiration, since it failed to secure the approval of the governments whose representatives adopted it" (*Principles of American Diplomacy*, p. 388). On the last day, resolutions were adopted to honor the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus and to thank the United States government for its hospitality (*Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 232*, part 2, pp. 1153-1168).

¹¹² The Conference by unanimous resolution tendered their "sincere thanks" to Mr. Blaine "for the ability, impartiality, and courtesy" with which he had "discharged his duties as President of this Conference" (*Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 231*, pp. 815-816). He was also presented with a loving cup—(Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 682).

Gentlemen: I withhold for a moment the word of final adjournment, in order that I may express to you the profound satisfaction with which the government of the United States regards the work that has been accomplished by the International American Conference. The importance of the subjects which have claimed your attention . . . must challenge the confidence and secure the admiration of the governments and peoples whom you represent. . . .

The extent and value of all that has been worthily achieved by your conference cannot be measured today. We stand too near it. Time will define and heighten the estimate of your work, experience will confirm our present faith, final results will be your vindication and your triumph. . . .

May I express to you, gentlemen, my deep appreciation of the honor you did me in calling me to preside over your deliberations. Your kindness has been unceasing and for your formal words of approval I offer you my sincerest gratitude.

Invoking the blessing of Almighty God upon the patriotic and fraternal work which has been here begun for the good of mankind, I now declare the American International Conference adjourned without day.¹¹³

The *New York Nation* in an editorial on April 24, 1890, remarked:

The closing scene of the Pan-American Conference is said to have been extremely affecting, Mr. Blaine being almost moved to tears when he gave the word of parting. If the emotions of the Conference were due to the small results achieved, they were fully justified.

On the other hand, the *New York Tribune* said in a more friendly vein:

The Pan-American Conference has closed its sessions after accomplishing most important, albeit indirect results, . . . [which are] likely to prove momentous and to promote the highest ends of civilization. . . . The Congress has ended, but the work of American unification has barely begun. The ground has been leveled, the way has been opened for securing united action on the part of the eighteen

¹¹³ *Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 231*, pp. 856-858. After the conference the delegates were received by President Harrison who spoke a few words of farewell (*Harper's Weekly*, May 3, 1890).

commonwealths which will promote the enlightened self-interest of each and the common welfare of all; and it now remains for the United States to take the initiative and to complete a great work of high civilization. By conciliatory diplomacy, by the opportune negotiations of treaties, by energetic and intelligent action and by perseverance, and patience and tact, the State Department can accomplish great and memorable results for American civilization. In this work it must have the individual support of public opinion in America. From this day the Monroe Doctrine passes by processes of diplomatic evolution into a stage of higher development. There is an American continental policy to be worked out and consummated.¹¹⁴

In these two views stated by the New York papers is found the whole attitude of the public respecting the first international American conference. Between these two extremes there are of course many half-way points to which the undecided clung.¹¹⁵

During the whole time that the conference was in session and, indeed, before, as well as after, it had ceased its labors, there were the usual partisan accusations generally centered about Blaine. The *New York Nation* remarked before the convention had met for the second time that "it will require a good many American international conferences at Washington to obliterate the impressions created" by some of the phases of "Mr. Blaine's Chilean policy". It asserted further (September 12, 1889) that

the Conference was promoted by Democratic revenue-reformers, and by those protectionists who fancy that free trade will be safe along parallels of latitude, but not safe along parallels of longitude. . . ."

On April 24, after the conference had adjourned, the same paper remarked editorially:

¹¹⁴ *New York Tribune*, April 20, 1890.

¹¹⁵ While the conference was in session these same opinions were continually being expressed by the antagonistic and sympathetic sides. For the opposition see editorials in *New York Nation*, September 12, October 10, 1889, April 24, 1890; the *New York Herald*, October 3, 4, 8, 10, 16, 1889, and February 5, 13, March the conference, but the *New York Tribune* was enthusiastic. See its editorials 31, April 12, and 15. *Harper's Weekly* was also not overly sympathetic toward the conference, but the *New York Tribune* was enthusiastic. See its editorials of October 11 and 15, November 14, 1889, and April 20, 1890.

The ostensible object of the Conference was to promote reciprocity in trade. Its real object was to enable a few steamship owners to get their hands into the United States Treasury.

The *New York Herald* (October 16, 1889) being opposed to Mr. Blaine, generally opposed the conference, calling it "Mr. Blaine's Congress" and saying that it would "accomplish nothing as long as the Republican party remains in power and continues to be the champion of high protection". Harper's weekly (October 19, 1889) uttered the same view when it asserted:

. . . It seems highly improbable that serious results can be achieved by the Congress without concessions upon our part which can hardly be expected.

Besides those who were skeptical, as to the results of the conference and who looked upon it as of small consequence, there were others who took this movement to be a sign of better things. President Harrison was greatly interested in its results saying:

Our people will await with interest and confidence the results which flow from so auspicious a meeting of allied and in large part identical interests.

These results he believed would be along commercial and peaceful lines.¹¹⁶ Elihu Root, in a speech in New York, on December 20, 1889, spoke of the delegates as being

the advance guard in the greatest movement since civilization began toward the brotherhood of man and the federation of the world.¹¹⁷

Chauncey M. Depew spoke of the union of the two American continents as being "the efflorescence of ideas; ideas which in politics give liberty, and in commerce give prosperity".¹¹⁸ While some were advocating no entangling alliances with Hispanic

¹¹⁶ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. IX, pp. 32-33; First Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1889.

¹¹⁷ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 232, part 3. p. 295.

¹¹⁸ Speech, December 20, 1889 in New York.—*Ibid.*, p. 300.

America,¹¹⁹ others were advocating a closer friendship with these governments in order to prevent future bloodshed. John G. Whittier said that if the conference were to agree upon a rule of arbitration only, "its session will prove one of the most important events in the world's history"¹²⁰

Thus was public opinion in this country, which took one side or the other on all the questions of the conference, divided.¹²¹ Turning now to public opinion regarding the meeting, as it was expressed abroad,¹²² other views must be noted. On September 12, 1889, the *Independence Belge*, a Brussels paper, observed that the conference would have no real legislative power and therefore its resolutions could only be carried out by the individual government on their own initiative. "It is clear, then," it concluded, "that the dream cherished by the North Americans is still a long way from its realization."¹²³ The *Diritto* of Rome, Italy, under date of September 30, 1889, saw two dangers arising from an all-American congress.

namely, the hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon over the Latin race, and a coalition of all the states of America against the products of Europe.¹²⁴

The German technical journal, *Stahl und Eisen*, for September, 1889, saw in the coming conference an attempt at an American Zollverein to support a broken-down fiscal policy, saying:

¹¹⁹ *Harper's Weekly*, January 4, 1890.

¹²⁰ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 715.

¹²¹ For a good, dispassionate discussion of the results of this Conference see *Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1906, p. 7., and the *Second Pan-American Conference, Mexico, 1901-2*, Mexican Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 4.

¹²² The *New York Nation* (October 3, 1889) asserted that the State Department at Washington had received a great many extracts from foreign newspapers regarding the congress. "These extracts express a good deal of concern and even alarm over the dire results for European trade which may come from Mr. Blaine's intention to persuade the South Americans to become our commercial vassals." But, it adds: "it is hardly possible . . . that the economists of Europe are lying awake nights in dread of the Washington Congress." Foreign opinion generally was opposed to the conference.

¹²³ Cited in the *New York Nation*, October 3, 1889.

¹²⁴ Cited in the *London Times*, October 1, 1889.

On the very immensity of their conception, the project of a Customs Union for all the Americas is likely to go to wreck.¹²⁵

The *London Times* asserted:

If the delegates go home pleased with their hosts, impressed by the magnitude of the country, and anxious to revisit it . . . [at the time of the coming world's fair], the Pan-American Congress will have done as much as can be reasonably expected.¹²⁶

In December, 1889, W. W. Phelps wrote to Mr. Blaine from Berlin:

I hope the Pan-American Congress is producing as good an impression at home, and doing as good work for us, as foreigners think it is. They have had great dislike and suspicions of it from the start, and were dazed by the opening speech, so masterly, so persuasive, and yet with not a single peg on which they could hang a complaint, or a flaw into which they could thrust a sneer. . . .¹²⁷

The *Handels-Museum* (Vienna), of January 9, 1890, concludes an article concerning the American conference by saying, in all probability European exporters have no reason whatever to fear American competition in the markets of Central and South America.¹²⁸ Señor Castelar, the great Spanish orator, in a letter in *Golignani's Messenger* (January 30, 1890) affirmed that he could not

understand how such a positive people as the Americans should have a Minister with such an Utopian and dreamy intelligence as Mr. Blaine,

¹²⁵ Cited in *New York Nation*, October 3, 1889.

¹²⁶ Cited in *Harper's Weekly*, October 19, 1889. The *London Times* followed the conference in its news columns, commenting generally on how little was accomplished and featuring the bickerings and squabbles. On December 4, 1889, its correspondent in Philadelphia wrote: "The public evinces some curiosity to find out when this Congress will begin business, having done nothing yet, with slight apparent prospects ahead" (issue of December 6, 1889). A typical citation in the columns of the *Times* was: "The Pan-American Congress met today but without doing anything and adjourned till Monday (January 4, 1890). On February 24, 1890, the congress is spoken of as "lying dormant".

¹²⁷ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 713.

¹²⁸ Cited in *New York Nation*, April 3, 1890.

and he insinuated that Mr. Blaine dreams of conquest in the guise of a commercial union, although nothing, he predicts, can come of such a scheme.¹²⁹

In regard to the results of the conference the *Revue Sud-Américaine*, on May 18, 1890, remarked that "from the standpoint of immediate practical results" it is not very

flattering to Mr. Blaine. . . . Wholly platonic recommendations, which even so encountered a good deal of dissent, all the main proposals aborted—there is the balance-sheet of the Pan-American Congress.

It believed further that the conference "has been a weighty warning to the protectionists of Europe" and that one of its results will be to stimulate trade between Europe and Hispanic America because it has been demonstrated that the United States is not in a position to have a foreign trade.¹³⁰

The *Journal des Économistes* in May, 1890, asserted that the Congress "adjourned without having reached any result but a platonic resolution in favor of abtitration." And it asked: "How could it have been otherwise?" Continuing, it affirmed that the United States wanted to shut South American commerce off from Europe, although

the South Americans do not seem to have discovered any motive for protecting the industries of their northern brethren at their own expense.¹³¹

Opposition toward Mr. Blaine meant opposition toward the congress and when Mr. Blaine left office in June, 1892, and when President Harrison was superseded by President Cleveland on March 4, 1893, many in this country and abroad felt constrained to rejoice. The *Revista Ilustrada*, a South American Journal, asserted that Cleveland's election had "been received with great satisfaction from the Rio Grande to the La Plata".¹³² The *Rio News*, an Argentina paper, claimed to be edited by an American but probably English inspired, said on November 15, 1892:

¹²⁹ Cited in *New York Nation*, February 13, 1890.

¹³⁰ Cited in *New York Nation*, June 5, 1890.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Cited in *New York Nation*, December 22, 1892.

The native press has been very complimentary to Mr. Cleveland upon his election to the Presidency of the United States. The fact seems to be that South America was always nervous over President Harrison's foreign policy, and expects Mr. Cleveland's Secretary will show less inclination to have a finger in every pie.¹³³

And the *London Times* in an editorial at the time of Mr. Blaine's death said:

. . . As Secretary of State his management of international affairs was not such as to gain him credit for prudence or moderation or for a sense of international justice. He was never at any pains to conceal his unfriendliness to this country.¹³⁴

The conference having finished its work, President Harrison undertook to carry out its recommendations and make them effective. Consequently, in special messages to Congress, he submitted the various proposals requesting that they be given careful consideration, adding his own opinion somewhat at length in regard to each. And before his second annual message of December 1, 1890, all had been submitted.

Meanwhile Mr. Blaine had not been inactive in endeavoring to keep faith with the Hispanic American powers. Immediately after the close of the conference he wrote to President Harrison submitting the report of the meetings in favor of reciprocity. On June 19, 1890, this report was sent to congress. But that body was not to be persuaded as easily as President Harrison had been regarding the advantages of following the recommendations of the conference. In fact, it was about to formulate a tariff bill—the McKinley Bill—with just the features Mr. Blaine did not want. On April 10, 1890, the secretary had written to Mr. McKinley asserting that certain provisions of the bill were a "slap in the face to the South Americans with whom we are trying to enlarge our trade". Later, in a letter to President Harrison, Mr. Blaine affirmed that the Hispanic American powers desired to enter into reciprocal commercial relations with the United States and hoped that the tariff bill might be amended

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *London Times*, January 28, 1893. Mr. Blaine died the day before.

authorizing the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports

free of all taxes commodities, of which he gave a list.¹³⁵

Finally, however, the bill, with its reciprocity clause became a law on October 1, 1890. It was, however, not so gracious in form as Mr. Blaine would have chosen, but he was on the other hand not overly displeased, for section three partially set forth his ideas of reciprocal trade with Hispanic America.¹³⁶ In accordance with this act, on February 5, 1891, the president proclaimed a Convention between the United States and Brazil for securing reciprocal trade between the two countries.¹³⁷ This treaty was soon followed by others in South America, Europe, and the West Indies until finally some twenty treaties of reciprocity had been negotiated.¹³⁸ Thus was the champion of closer Pan-American relations rewarded for his efforts, for in these treaties

Mr. Blaine saw not only the clear and definite beginning, but the orderly and beneficent development of his policy of peace, of mutual benefit, of practical human brotherhood.¹³⁹

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

¹³⁵ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 682.

¹³⁶ See *Tariff Act of October 1, 1890*, pp. 50-51. Washington Government Printing Office, 1891, prepared by John M. Carson.

¹³⁷ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 689. This treaty the English in Brazil tried to belittle by abusing both governments (*ibid.*, p. 690).

¹³⁸ Within two years after 1890, eight reciprocal commercial treaties were made with Hispanic American states or with European governments for their colonies in America (see A. B. Hart: *The Monroe Doctrine, an Interpretation*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1916, p. 188).

¹³⁹ Gail Hamilton, *Biography of James G. Blaine*, p. 690. The *Frankfort Zeitung* on December 10, 1891, said: "The commercial ideas of the American Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, are entirely original" and they have "in the latest commercial negotiations, proven its [their] eminent wisdom most brilliantly. . . . Mr. Blaine's idea has secured for the United States treaties with Brazil, Cuba and with other of the Latin-American States, and thus brings Mr. Blaine's great Pan-American scheme nearer realization" (*ibid.*, p. 691). Gail Hamilton further stated that it was asserted "not by partisans but by critics", that Mr.

Blaine's securing of reciprocity treaties was a victory, and, together with his other plans regarding Hispanic America "was the most comprehensive scheme of statesmanship propounded in this hemisphere". It was gained at little cost and was based upon "the most accurate knowledge of the needs and resources of the South-American countries ever possessed by an American statesman". It was obtained "by employing and developing the trained instincts of business" (*ibid.*, p. 690). For further favorable expressions regarding the good of the Pan-American movement see *Speeches Incident to the Visit of Senator Root to South America, July 4, to September 30, 1906.*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, and Charles M. Pepper, *Life and Times of Henry Cassaway Davis*, New York, The Century Co., 1920. For a radical opposition to such a movement, although it is unconvincing, see G. W. Critchfield, *American Supremacy*, 2 vols., New York, Brentano, 1908.

OUR LADY OF CHARITY

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CARIDAD DE COBRE (SANTIAGO DE CUBA)
NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CARIDAD DE ILLESCAS
(CASTILLA, SPAIN)

At Cobre, a mining village near Santiago de Cuba, there is revered an image of Our Lady of Charity, which, according to accepted tradition, appeared in 1627 or 1628, to three men, on Nipe Bay. They had gone there for salt and the image came to them floating upright and not wet, upon the waves of that great expanse of water. They took the image home with them to the copper mines at Cobre, where, by subsequent miraculous manifestations, according to report, Our Lady indicated her determination to remain. A chapel was built upon a hill, and there through three centuries and more the Mother of God has been ardently revered, especially by the negroes of Cuba. She is credited with very many miracles and her shrine is the objective of an annual pilgrimage, although vicissitudes have harassed her and untoward circumstances have much reduced the splendor of her cult.¹

Some students (the writer among them) have supposed that this image is the one which Alonso de Hojeda left among the Indians of the south coast of Cuba in 1511. Perusal of Las Casas' History of the Indies seems to suggest this possibility, and the writer in the course of investigation of Cuban documents at Seville has seen nothing to render the idea untenable.²

¹ Nothing, however, has diminished the ardor of her devotees. In her honor they wear coral and yellow ribbons and especially checked gingham dresses. To her they erect altars in the meetings places of the *cabildos*—social-religious associations of blacks and mulattoes.

² The main facts of this article (and the documents thereto appended) were presented, in Spanish, in a paper similarly entitled, before the Spanish Association for the Progress of Sciences, in its congress at Oporto, on June 30, 1921, and published by the society in its proceedings. On reconsidering that article the writer believes that the data in hand do not prove that Sanchez de Moya conveyed

The purpose of this paper is to prove that, as a matter of historical fact, Our Lady of Charity of Cobre, in Cuba, is Our Lady of Charity of Illescas, in Castile, and that at least twenty years prior to the accepted date of her miraculous appearance on Nipe Bay, she was revered in her own hermitage, attended by her particular hermit, at the Cobre mines, then called *las minas del Prado*, near Santiago de Cuba.

To provide himself with artillery with which to fight the English, by 1597, the king of Spain had been compelled to undertake the development, under administration, of the copper deposits which had long been known to exist in Cuba, near Havana, and especially near Santiago de Cuba. To have charge of their exploitation, and other related work, he sent to the island Captain Francisco Sanchez de Moya (army inspector from Perpiñan, experienced in the Lisbon foundries), with the title of captain of artillery for Cuba.³ Captain Francisco Sanchez de Moya was a native of the province of Toledo.

Among numerous obligations laid upon Sanchez de Moya by his instructions⁴ was that of providing a modest church, if the seat of his activities was outside Havana. It was not at first decided which deposits should be worked—those near Havana, or those at Santiago. Eventually experience proved the deposits in the east to be far the better, and it was at Cobre that Sanchez de Moya established himself, his staff, and his laborers. Here,

this image from Spain; although he might well have done so. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the great cardinal who gave Hojeda his image was a patron of the charity hospital at Illescas, it may be argued that he was likely to give an image of Our Lady of Illescas to Hojeda, since she must have been much in his mind precisely at the time he made that present to his protege. One can imagine the amazement of the devout Sanchez de Moya if, on arriving in the wilderness of eastern Cuba, he found the famous virgin of his native province, worshipped by the aborgines there!

³ Documents concerning Captain Francisco Sanchez de Moya and his creditable activities through more than twenty years in Cuba are numerous in the Archivo de Indias. He opened and maintained the mines. He was at one time acting governor of eastern Cuba, chosen by the people in an emergency (I. A. Wright, *Santiago de Cuba and its District*, Madrid, 1918, p. 31). He assisted in establishing the sugar industry in Oriente and was himself one of the first mill-owners.

⁴ See Appended Document No. 1.

prior to 1600, he built his church. The presbyter, Miguel Geronimo, was its first chaplain.⁵

Upon this church the captain lavished devout attention. In his day the religious festivals of Holy Week and Corpus Christi were celebrated at the Cobre mines with a pomp not equalled elsewhere in Cuba outside the far-distant capital city of Havana itself.

In the late summer of 1604 Bishop Fray Don Juan de las Cabezas y Altamirano visited Cobre, and blessed its bells and the altars of its church.⁶ Now, in addition to this church there was also a hermitage at Cobre, erected to the virgin and in charge of a hermit who, prior to 1608, had Bishop Cabezas' sanction.⁷ In 1620, this hermitage, built on a hill, sheltered "a small image of Our Lady . . . *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, mother of God, of Illescas".⁸

Illescas! On the highway between Madrid and Toledo—Toledo, the region whence Captain Sanchez de Moya came!

Without any knowledge whatsoever concerning Illescas—celebrated in fact and fiction of the 16th century—without any previous acquaintance with its famous charity hospital, built under exalted patronage⁹—the writer journeyed down to Illescas¹⁰ entered the largest church in sight, and asked to see *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, mother of God, of Illescas.

The kindly sacristan informed us that the image upon the altar we approached was not that of *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, but

⁵ See Appended Document No. 2.

⁶ *A. de I.*, 54-1-9, Bishop Cabezas to his majesty, from Santiago de Cuba. See also appended Documents Nos. 3 and 4. There seem to have been three of these altars: one to Mary, one to Saint Barbara, and the main altar, to Saint James the Greater, under whose advocacy Sanchez de Moya had placed the church. He had brought an image of this tutelar saint with him from Spain (see appended Document No. 4, for description).

⁷ See Appended Document No. 3.

⁸ See Appended Document No. 4.

⁹ See ante, note 2.

¹⁰ Among the members of the party on this expedition was Sr. D. Joaquin Ciria, born in Santiago de Cuba. Mr. Ciria's present address is Plaza del Cordon No. 2, Madrid.

of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad*¹¹ de Illescas—a very ancient and “miraculous” virgin, widely known and deeply revered through all Spain in the sixteenth century.¹² He exhibited strange old paintings of her, hanging upon the walls of the rooms and narrow corridors through which he conducted us toward the small chamber, high at the rear of the altar, where he promised to afford us a close view of the image. He called attention to the attitude of the mother in these paintings—she holds the child squarely before her in the pose usual in ancient images; later, it was altered so that now she carries the babe upon her arm. He remarked also that the face of the image had until quite recently been almost black; and warned us that it had been repainted lately.

By winding stairs we had now entered the small, decorated chamber directly behind the image, which the sacristan swung on a pivot, and we found ourselves face to face with—Our Lady of Charity of Cobre. *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad* of Illescas in Castile and *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad* of Cobre in Cuba are one and the same. There can be no question of that fact. The sacristan had never heard of the image at Santiago.

They are the same. The documents appended prove, therefore, that prior to 1608, Our Lady of Charity was revered in a hermitage on a hill at Cobre: surely in the shape of the same image¹³ which is revered there to this day. Whether she came

¹¹ None of the party had known that Our Lady of Charity of Illescas existed. Our astonishment was extreme; nor did our amazement decrease on learning that the virgin had been too dark, for Our Lady of Charity at Cobre is *muy morena*, and not less popular because of that detail. When, in finding Our Lady of Charity at Illescas we found that we had discovered her identity with Our Lady of Charity at Cobre, we did not go further, for we had not the time, to see *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, who is worshiped in another church. Nor can the writer explain why the image at Cobre is so called in appended Document No. 4, unless some clerk in writing confused the two famous virgins of the one never large city of Illescas.

¹² In the sixteenth century *seises* danced before this virgin, as now they dance before the high altar of Seville Cathedral (*A. de I.*, 145-150).

¹³ Hojeda's image was small—he carried it in his knapsack. The image at Illescas is small. So is that at Cobre—smaller, still, than the one at Illescas. The image at Illescas is a head upon a tripod. The image at Cobre is undoubtedly the same. The writer, visiting Cobre, asked if there was a body and what it was like. The president of the ladies' society which dresses the image was astounded

to Cuba with Hojeda, was by him left among the aborigines in gratitude for his escape from the south coast swamp (as Las Casas relates), whether the image still honored at Cobre is the one the good *clerigo* saw in the neat chapel the Indians maintained for her at the time of the Spanish conquest of Cuba; or whether Captain Sanchez de Moya brought her with him when he came to the island in 1597, the fact remains that Our Lady of Cobre is Our Lady of Illescas, and that she was in her place in her hermitage upon a hill, at the mines, prior to 1608.

Concerning the tradition of her miraculous appearance, twenty years later, on Nipe Bay, the writer has nothing to say; excepting that close examination of documents at Seville, appertaining to the history of Cuba, up to the year 1660, has not yet furnished any reference whatsoever to this event, which, surely, could not have been ignored by the bishop, the chapter at Santiago, by the governor at Havana, and by all the lesser officials, civil and ecclesiastic, and minor individuals who wrote tirelessly to his majesty in his council for the Indies upon every conceivable topic.

Therefore, rather than attribute the presence of Our Lady at Cobre to a miracle, the writer would prefer to see in it evidence of the immortality of those human qualities which make for good: perhaps of the gratitude of that picturesque, courageous adventurer, Hojeda, who swore mightily by the mother of God; and certainly of the deep devotion, and the sincerity, of Captain Francisco Sanchez de Moya, for whom, despite thorough scrutiny of documentary sources for the history of which he was a part, the writer has been able to maintain profound respect and high regard. Of Hojeda, here survives one admirable trait; and of Sanchez de Moya—a good, an active, an honest man—here lives

at this question, and replied that when she dressed the virgin ecstasy overcame her, so that she did not know what the body was like. When the shrine of Cobre was robbed, during the American Occupation (about 1899) the head was found where the thieves had thrown it away. Persons who then had forced upon them the opportunity to examine it assert that it is entirely modern—"a French doll", was the description. It does not look like a French doll to worshipers, who are permitted to come very close indeed, thanks to the arrangement of the altar at Cobre.

his influence, century after century, unvanquished, immortal!
Behold in this the miracle!

I. A. WRIGHT.

The four following documents are all from the Archivo de Indias: the first two being from Est. 53, caj. 2, leg. 9, the third from Est. 55, caj. 5, leg. 23, and the fourth from Est. 54, caj. 1, leg. 16.

I

+

El Rey

Lo que Vos fran^{co}. Sanchez de Moya Mi Veedor de la gente de guerra de Perpiñan haueis de hazer en la labor de las minas de cobre que se an de beneficiar en la ysla de Cuba y fabrica del Artilleria es lo siguiente. . . .

CAPITULO

Si esta fundacion huuiere de estar de asiento en alguna Parte que esto aueis Vos de procurar encaminar hareis levantar Vna Iglesia y edefiçio Vmilde el que bastare Para la gente y a vn Religiosso. que se dara Orden Asista alli hareis dar Razion y lo neçessario de mi hazienda y este administrara los sacramentos a toda la dha gente y terna Cuidado de la correction y buenas costumbres de todos y de que oyan misa los dias de fiesta Principalmente los negros como gente de menos Razon Procurando que no Hagan falta en esto ni ofensa a n^{ro} Señor y hauiendose de mudar las Rancherias se hara de tablas y como mejor y a menos costa se pudiere. de manera que este el santissimo sacramento con degencia y seguridad. . . .

fiecha en madrid a Veynte y tres de março mill y quis^o y nobenta y siete años yo el Rey Refrendada de Juan de ybarra y senalada de los del conss^o. . . .

Concuerta. . . .¹⁴

¹⁴ The *cedula* entire is to be found in A. de I., 79-4-2, Y 7, pp. 1 *et seq.* The certified extract found in 53-2-9, among papers of the presbyter Miguel Geronimo was preferred for copying. Here, too, are to be found certified copies of those provisions according to which this first chaplain at Cobre was paid according to Sanchez de Moya's appointment of him.

II

. . . . fran^{co}. Sanchez de Moya cap^{an}. de la arti^a. en esta ysla de cuba Por su Mag^d.

Por quanto Aviendome mandado El Rey Nrō Sr. que Viniese A esta ysla de cuba a formar dos fundiciones Una de Sacar Cobre Y otra de Arti^a. fue su Voluntad que en la parte que hiziese mi asiento se fundase Vna yglesia donde se administrasen los santos sacramentos a la Gente de mi Cargo Para cuyo effecto manda que aya Vn capellan y Vicario que Acuda a la dha administracion Como Consta Por los despachos. y cédulas Reales Suyas que para el exercicio de mi offi^o. me dio, y por la Satisfacion que tengo de con quanta Virtud suficiencia. y cuydado El P^e. Miguel Ger^{mo}. ha exercido el offi^o. de cura y Vicario en algunos lugares desta ysla estandolo continuando Con mucha Satisfacion de todos en la Vi^a. Del Bayamo Sirui^{do}. el curado della le escriui que Viniese. si era Su Voluntad a encargarse desta Capellania. y Vicariato el qual lo hizo con mucho Amor Por acudir al Serui^o. de su mag^d. Por tanto en Virtud. de las dhas Cédulas Reales le Nombro Por Capellan y Vicario de la Yglecia Parrochial del bien aVenturado Santiago el mayor desta Vi^a. de las minas del prado que yo he fundado Para que todo el tpo que fuere la Voluntad del Rey Nrō sr. sirua el dho benefi^o. y la capellania se le Pague el stipendio que Por su serui^o. hubiere de hauer en conformidad del asiento que oy dia de la fecha se ha despachado Para Poner en los libros de la contaduria. Para la q^{ta}. que con el se ha de tener que son doze escudos de a diez Reales cada mes y Racion y m^a. Para su sustento demas del dhō Sueldo todo el tpo que siruiere. y desde luego le pongo en la posesion de la dha yglesia eomo a cura Capellan y Vicario della Porque assi conViene al Serui^o. de dios y de su mag^d. y para que se cumpla assi Tomara la Razon deste nombram^o. el Sargento Bernardo fernandez yzquiero que haze offi^o. de Cont^{or}. y tesor^o. desta fabrica Por ausencia y con poder de P^o. de Redondo Villegas y Marcos de Valera Arceo, que lo son de la arti^a. desta ysla de cuba. Por su mag^d. Y le boluera este original Para su Resguardo. fecho en las minas de la Vi^a. del prado. A onze de Septiembre de mill y seis cientos años.

FRAN^{co}. SANCHEZ DE MOYA (rubric).

Tome la Razon.

BER^{do}. FRNZ. YZQUIERDO (rubric).

III

. . . Reconocimi.^{to} del assiento de estas minas y lauores que se bee que estan hechas en ellas

Primeram.^{te} ay Una yglesia fundada sobre pilares de madera Cercada de Tablas y cubierta de teja con tres altares que cada uno Tiene su lampara (que estas son de limosna Que se a rrecojido entre la Gente de estas minas) Y sus hornamentos ordinarios. biejos con dos buenas Campanas. . . .

. . . en el çerro de la mina. ay Vna ermita de nra S.^{ra} en que rreside Un hermitaño q esta en ella Con liçençia del obispo de esta ysla

Fho el dho Reconoçimiento en estas minas del Prado A beinte y nueue de Nouiembre de mil seis^{os} y ocho años

P^o VARONA BARAHONA (Rubric).

IV¹⁵

. . . en las minas del Prado en treynta dias del mes de Entrega henero de mill y seis.^{os} y veinte años su merzed del dho señor g.^{or} en cumpli.^{to} y ex.^{on} de la dha zedula rreal. . . estando pres.^{to} el señor cap.^{an} fran.^{co} ss.^a de Moya y el señor alcalde mayor Juan de eguiluz y el contador ambrosio de Seuilla guerrero con ynterbencion de su merzed del dho capitan fran.^{co} ss.^a de Moya empezaron a hazer entrega al dho señor alcalde mayor Juan de eguiluz de la santa yglesia de estas dhas minas de Prado y hornamentos y de mas cosas del seruicio de ella por ante mi Juan de fromesta s.^o publico la qual se hizo en la forma sig.^{ta}]

Primeramente se le entrego la santa yglesia destas minas armada sobre diez pilares de cal y canto y sobre pilares de madera que tiene tres naues y con una dibision de una rreja que haze capilla m.^{or} y otra del coro para que detras della oygan misa los negros separados de los blancos con su sacristia zercada de tablas de madera y en el altar mayor con sus gradas de madera y un sagrario donde esta el santisimo sacramento en una custodia pequena de plata encima de un arca con las gradas aforrado el dho sagrario de tafetan y en el dho altar una y magen de bulto de santiago el mayor adbocacion desta santa yglesia

¹⁵ The document from which these extracts are taken is an enclosure of about 150 pages sent to his majesty by the governor of eastern Cuba, Rodrigo de Belasco, with his letter of February 18, 1620, reporting the delivery of the copper mines to Juan de Eguiluz who was succeeding Francisco Sanchez de Moya in their management.

que dice traxo de españa con yntento de colocarla en la santa yglesia que hiziese con su capa de terziopelo azul listada y un sombrero de plata con el articulo de fee que compuso en el ala del y la dha custodia tiene su cubierta de tafetan.

Yten un cripsto de bulto con un belo de tela de plata delante.

Una custodia chica de plata con unos beriles en que se saca el santísimo sacram.^{to} el dia del corpus en procesion y corporales. |

Mas un frontal de terziopelo berde labrado y morado ya usado.¹⁶. . .

| . . . Una lampara de plata con que se alumbra el santísimo sacramento con su baso de plata | que la mayor parte della se hizo de limosna que lo que a su mag.^d costo se echara de ver por las cuentas viejas.

Otras dos lamparas de plata con sus basos de lo mesmo que alumbra los dos altares de la madre de dios y santa barbara las quales el señor capitan fran.^{co} ss.^a de moya declaro que la del altar de santa barbara se hizo de limosna de la cofradia della y ansi mesmo uno de los calizes de plata que estan ymbentariados y que ansi mesmo la lampara del altar de nra señora se hizo de limosna de la dha cofradia de nra señora... |

Un pendon de rraso blanco que es de la cofradia de nra señora del rrosario.

Una ymagen de santa barbara de bulto que esta en su altar dorada... |

...Todas las quales dhas cosas y hornamentos contenidos y declarados en este ymbentario lo rrezibio el dho señor Juan de eguiluz... |

en las minas de Santiago del Prado en treynta dias del mes de henero de mill y seis.^o y v.^{to} años el dho señor g.^{or} rrodrigo de velasco en cumplimi.^{to} de la dha zedula rreal estando presente el señor cap.^{an} fran.^{co} ss.^a de moya y el señor alcalde m.^{or} Juan de Eguiluz y el contador ambrosio de seuilla guerrero fue prosiguiendo en la entrega de las cosas tocantes y pertenecientes a las dhas minas y fabrica de cobre della y el dho señor alcalde m.^{or} se fue entregando dellas y las rrezibio en la forma y manera sig.^{te}... |

Una hermita que esta en zerro de la mina de la adbocacion de nra señora de guia madre de dios de yllescas cubierta de texa y sobre pilares de madera con un altar y ymagen de nra señora de bulto pequeña y otras ymagenes en estampas y una casa en que biue un hermitaño...

¹⁶ Omitted portions recited the delivery of "frontales, casullas, etc., campanas, mangas de cruz, palios, lamparas, yzensario, pila de bautismo, etc., etc.,"—all the utensils and ornaments of a church of considerable importance.

BOOK REVIEWS

Histoire de la Science Nautique Portugaise a l'Époque des grandes Decouvertes, Collection de Documents publiés par Ordre du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique de la Republique Portugaise, par Joaquim Bensaude.

Vol. 1: *Regimento do Estrolabio e do quadrante—Tractado da Spera.* Munich, 1914. (From the unique copy in Munich; pp. 64; with introduction of pp. 2 + 31.)

Vol. 2: *Tractado da Spera—Regimento da declinação do sol.* Geneva, s.a. (Copy of Evora; pp. 72.)

Vol. 3: *Almanach perpetuum* (Radix, 1473); Abraham Zacuto—1496, Leiria. Munich and Bern, 1915. (Augsburg copy; pp. 335.)

Vol. 4: *Tratado del Esphera y del arte del marear; con el Regimiento de las alturas*; Francisco Faleiro (Portugais) 1535 Sevilla. Munich and Bern, 1915. (Copy of Munich, pp. 102.)

Vol. 5: *Tratado da Sphera*; Pedro Nunes—1537, Lisboa. Munich and Bern, 1915. (Copy of Wolfenbüttel; pp. 180.)

Vol. 6: *Tabule tabularum Celestium motuum.* Supplement to Zacuto, *Almanach perpetuum*, transl. into Spanish by Joseph Vizinho. (Copy of Evora; pp. 35.) Leira, 1696, Geneva, s.a.

Vol. 7: *Reportorio dos tempos*; by Valentim Fernandes ed. 1563, Lisboa. Geneva, s.a. (Copy of Lisbon; pp. 143.)

In each case the number of pages refers to the number given in facsimile.

The first two volumes, both of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, contain a Portuguese treatise on the sphere, following Sacroboscó, and variant forms of rules for the calculation of latitudes by means of the elevation of the sun, together with the necessary tables. Zacuto's *Almanach Perpetuum* contains material for astrological purposes, as do the corresponding tables of Regiomontanus, in addition to purely astronomical data useful for navigators.

A copy of the 1537 treatise on the sphere by Pedro Nunez is in the Huntington Library and has been photographically reproduced for a group of American libraries. The *Reportorio dos tempos* includes a *Regimento da declinação do sol*, taken from Zacuto, together with

astrological material, which predominates, and a few rules for navigators. A further facsimile volume to contain pertinent passages from the early tables of Regiomontanus is announced but not yet published.

Other volumes available in facsimile, which are quite indispensable to a study of the questions raised by Bensaude are the following:

Lisboa, João de: Livro de marinharia. Lisbon, 1900.

Castro, João de: Roteiros—(three).— Published in 1833, 1843, and 1882.

Pachecho, Duarte: Esmeraldo de situ orbis. Lisbon, 1892, also 1905.

Americans may justly feel flattered by the continued interest of European nations in the discovery period of American history. This interest is well attested by numerous magnificent series of publications issued with subsidies by foreign governments. During 1914 and 1915 there appeared a remarkably fine series of facsimile volumes having reference to the history of Portuguese nautical science in the discovery period. This series of seven volumes was published by order of the Portuguese minister of public instruction, and the volumes were issued during 1914 and 1915. Coming just at the outbreak of the war and during the great war these volumes have not received the attention of American scholars to the extent which the publications warrant. Similarly the work of the editor of the series, Joaquim Bensaude, on *L'astronomie nautique en Portugal a l'époque des grandes découvertes* (Bern, 1912) is a work which must receive the attention of all scholars who work in this field. This latter work received the Prix Binoux (Histoire et philosophie des sciences) in 1916.

To the scholarly initiative and to the financial sacrifice of Sr. Bensaude is due the series of facsimile volumes; the expense of publication was borne only in part by the Portuguese government.

While the volumes are concerned with nautical science it is primarily with the astronomical and cartographical phases of nautics that these volumes deal. The known authors are all of them men whose names appear in the history of astronomy of this period.

The volumes are concerned with the reasonable attempt to establish Portuguese nautical science as independent of the influence of Regiomontanus and Behaim. The final word of this controversy has not yet been said, as the mutual dependence upon Arabic and Jewish sources has not yet been elucidated. However, these documents reveal a much greater development in these sciences independent of German influence than has customarily been conceded in historical works treating this period. So much is granted by the foremost German

scholar in this field, Hermann Wagner, in an able summary, entitled *Die Entwicklung der wissenschaftlichen Nautik im Beginn des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen nach neueren Anschauungen* (Annalen der Hydrographie, Band 46, 1918).

The fundamental question concerns itself, primarily with the use of the astronomical tables of Abraham Zacuto and those of Regiomontanus by Portuguese and Spanish navigators. The Ephemerides of Regiomontanus have been prized by collectors of Americana as being used by Columbus for predicting eclipses and for other purposes; however, the tables of Zacuto appear more likely to have been used by Columbus. Printed copies appeared in 1496, 1500, and 1502; the University of Michigan has recently secured a copy of the Venice, Liechtenstein, edition of 1502, comprising 244 folios of which 3 (a_1 to a_{111}) containing title and introduction, are lacking. These copies of the tables are listed in American libraries in the *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in American Libraries* (New York, 1919).

Secondly, the practical handbooks such as the *Regimento do estrolabio* of the Munich library and the *Regimento da declinacam do sol* of the Evora library, used by navigators for determining latitude are now known to be largely independent of northern influence.

Another question under discussion concerns the earliest appearance of the loxodromic curve as being due to Pedro Nunes and not Mercator.

Bensaude has definitely established the dependence in the first half of the sixteenth century of Spanish nautical science upon Portuguese science. He has also demonstrated beyond possibility of doubt the development of Portuguese nautical science independently of the work of Regiomontanus and of Behaim.

Unfortunately only three hundred copies of the facsimile volumes were published and these have been distributed by the editor with the compliments of the Portuguese government to foreign and American libraries. Five of the volumes are out of print. The following American libraries have received the series: Smithsonian Institution; Carnegie Institution; Library of Congress; National Geographical Society; New York Public Library; Harvard University; Cornell University; Yale University; Johns Hopkins University; University of Boston; University of Michigan; University of California; Chicago Public Library; and the American Geographical Society.

A second volume on the history of Portuguese nautics is promised by Sr. Bensaude, but this has not yet appeared. If a sufficient number of subscriptions were received a new edition of the facsimile volumes

could undoubtedly be arranged. It is hoped that some American libraries may take the initiative in such an undertaking.

These questions as to the priority of German or Iberian scientists in nautical and astronomical matters cannot be finally answered until, as mentioned above, the work of the Arabs in these fields has received a just appreciation. A fairly monumental treatise now in course of publication bids fair to throw great light upon Arabic contributions to nautics; this is Gabriel Ferrand's *Instruccions Nautiques et routiers Arabes et Portugais des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, reproduits, traduits et annotés* (4 vols., 8°, Paris, Geuthner, 13, rue Jacob). This publication is eminently worthy of the support of all libraries interested in the discovery period. A more popular discussion of Arabic contributions to nautics, astronomy, and geography is to be found in Carra de Vaux's *Les Penseurs de l'Islam* (same publisher) of which the first two volumes (out of five) have appeared; the second volume treats the fields in question. The indebtedness of Regiomontanus to Arabic mathematicians and astronomers is well established. The notable contributions which he made to the science of the fifteenth century are also beyond dispute. Similarly the indebtedness of Iberian mathematics and astronomy to Moslem science is beyond dispute. The volumes under review reveal notable Portuguese contributions to the advancement of science and civilization.

LOUIS C. KARPINSKI.

University of Michigan.

La Primera Centuria: Causas geográficas, políticas y económicas que han detenido el progreso moral y material del Perú en el primer siglo de su vida independiente. Tomo 11. By PEDRO DAVALOS Y LISSON. (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1922. Pp. 487. £p. 1.)

The first volume of this work, which appeared in 1921, treated of present conditions in Peru. The present volume endeavors to analyze the geographical, political, and economic causes which have hindered the more rapid development of the Peruvian nation during its first century of independence.

The geographical chapters include detailed discussions of the rivers, mountains, coastal belt, montaña and sierra regions, means of communications, boundaries, and territorial extension. There are also extensive chapters on the classes of population, influences of climate, and prevalent diseases.

Although the book shows evidences of having been written hurriedly by a scholar who is at the same time an active business man, it contains much that is new and suggestive. Copious extracts from other Peruvian writers are inserted to reinforce the author's conclusions on various points, affording a convenient means of reference for the topics covered.

Sr. Dávalos y Lissón reveals himself as one of the few Peruvians who realize that their country is not one of unlimited resources and wealth, but confesses that its development is handicapped by the most stupendous natural difficulties. He rightly points out, however, that for this reason unusual credit is due for what has been accomplished during the past century. The author promises a third volume on other economic factors in Peruvian development.

W. E. DUNN.

Lima, Peru.

The People of Mexico; Who they Are and How they Live. By WALLACE THOMPSON. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921. \$2.50.)

Trading with Mexico. By WALLACE THOMPSON. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1921. Pp. xi, (2), 271.

The Mexican Mind, a Study of National Psychology. By WALLACE THOMPSON. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922. \$2.50.)

The author has had extensive journalistic experience in Mexico, and was a member of the Doheny Research Foundation, the files of which he has used in writing these books. His materials are also drawn from a number of Mexican writers and from his own observations. The two parts of *The Mexican People*, with *The Mexican Mind*, Mr. Thompson characterizes as a trilogy of studies on social and political aspects of Mexican life. *Trading with Mexico* is really a continuation of the thesis maintained in the first two, carried to a logical conclusion in the economic field.

Briefly, this thesis, forming the whole of the author's argument, is as follows: The Mexican people are a hybrid race formed by the amalgamation of Spanish and Indian elements without other significant intermixtures; they combine the vices of both races without appreciably conserving the virtues of either; they have arrived at their present unenviable condition by successive revolutionary eliminations of their white upper and better classes; the residual mestizo population is dominated by Indian characteristics, and the current revolution, while claiming high ideals of socialization through nationalization of natural

resources, has been and is in reality a disorderly decline into "Indianism"; the real aspiration of the revolution has been to eliminate all white men and restore Indian life and institutions; the only hope of reconstruction for the country consists in the resumption of white control, which is to be brought about through education, through the return of the expatriated Mexicans, and the non-political activities of the large companies of American investors in Mexico. It is difficult to state in few words the argument of nearly a thousand pages, but in the main this is a fair statement of the author's theme.

The best work of the three is the first, *The People of Mexico; The Mexican Mind* is disappointing, even irritating, in the assurance with which conclusions are arrived at without sufficient data; much of the harsh criticism of the mentality of the Mexicans is probably true, but it cannot be generalized upon without a preceding lengthy series of experiments or observations made by trained sociologists or psychologists; the author pretends to be neither. *Trading with Mexico* is a characterization of business conditions and methods which developed during the active years of Madero and Carranza; much of its contents pertains to a situation now happily gone by; it is rather a document of those times than an ex-parte analysis of them.

In *The People of Mexico* the origins and processes of political and social life are portrayed, and an exposition of the influences of environment accounts for the general decadence of the country. Mexico is in the lowest vitality class, with an enormous birth and death rate, a huge infant mortality, and a short average longevity. These factors are due to improper nourishment, war, lack of sanitation, poverty, apathy, and venereal disease. The caste stratification, going on from time immemorial and resulting in the elimination of the true upper class, the author correctly though reluctantly blames upon the upper classes themselves. "All this may indeed be the fault of the men who surrounded Díaz and who failed to lift the level of the dull, unthinking mass toward their own intelligence, the recurrence of the age-old failure of those in power to raise up a generation of strong men to succeed them."

This truth seems to the reviewer a much more potent cause of Mexico's inefficiency than it does to the author. The lower classes can hardly be blamed for their "dull, unthinking" character if the upper element has not taken more interest in them than has been the case. In his discussion Mr. Thompson reverts again and again to the prop-

osition that the period of the Spanish occupation, being a white period, was an altogether beneficent one, and that the Díaz régime, being a replica of the viceregal period, was the only time during which Mexico made visible strides toward national entity. There was indeed much of beneficence in both periods, much of constructive value and permanency. The reviewer maintains that these beneficent features have not been lost entirely, that the struggle of the revolution in its ideality has been to conserve them, and that the dominating passion, wherever free from the gross imperfections of the revolutionary epoch, has been to retain white culture and social organization, and not to revert to "Indianism", whatever that may mean.

But despite their beneficence the obvious historical fact remains, that the colonial régime and the Díaz régime were shaken off because they were unsatisfactory. Both were benevolent despotisms, and the fault of benevolent despotism has been clearly indicated in the author's words above. The revulsion against them caused the irrational disorders which occurred precisely because the revolters had destructive criticism and scant constructive criticism to offer, added to utter inexperience of any system of government. Underneath these basic reasons and growing out of them, lay opportunity for all manner of abuse of the occasion which has always been the characteristic of revolution. It is not best to indict a whole people on the charge of wanting a new system of government out of sheer wantonness. The new system may be a grotesque conception evolved with a bizarre idealism, as the revolutionary socialism of Mexico has been, and it may be malformed in the execution by private and public thievery, graft, persecution, and horror, as the Mexican Revolution has been, but somewhere there is a real and sufficient cause if unrest is general and widespread, and somewhere there is a real and efficient cure, if a true analysis is made and the suitable remedy applied.

The trouble lay, during the colonial epoch, with the faulty system evolved for the exploitation of dependent peoples by dominant ones. The experience was and still is practically universal. Happy blends of dominant and dependent cultures have been missed because control, necessarily focused on commercial profit, has either neglected the spiritual development and amalgamation of racial groups, or it has neglected the dissemination of economic opportunity to such an extent that contentment with the exploiting system evolved has been impossible of attainment. Such participation as has been evolved has resulted only in semi-intelligent protest, discontent, and disruption,

because it has never been capable of spiritual advancement comparable with material gains. To put it another way, the most beneficent class control in dependent countries, that under Díaz being a striking instance, usually leaves the dominated element suspicious that its participation in benefits achieved is not commensurate with its own effort or with the reward obtained by the dominant group.

Hence it can not be a happy solution which Mr. Thompson suggests to turn the amelioration of Mexican interests over to American capital in Mexico, aided or not by the Mexican refugee element in the United States (*Trading With Mexico*, pages 269-270). It is obviously true that foreign capital has done miracles for Mexico, both in material development and in social amelioration of the working people associated with foreign enterprise, but for American companies to make demands for changes in legislation under threat of or actual cessation of production is to adopt the tactics of the Mexican bandit. Mr. Thompson's statement that the foreign companies in Mexico have a right to do as they please in developing such a program is little short of astonishing. The problem of international relationships is hardly susceptible of satisfactory solution through the agencies of companies with vested rights to protect. However benevolent their purpose or however correct their motives, their attitude is bound to be partisan and their action the subject of suspicion in both Mexico and the United States, and if they experience difficulty in enforcing their program, their appeal must eventually lie before the American government, where it belongs in the first place. The intimations of the Department of State are likely to command more respect in Mexico and to be more responsive to the desires of the United States than action by investors. Even the present attitude of our government in demanding a treaty, so-called of amity and commerce (the observance of which must ultimately depend on the exercise of just that force which can legally be exercised without any precedent convention) is much to be preferred over pressure exerted by privately employed capital. The visible effects of the American "mild insistence urging men's minds to vaster issues" have been palpably better than the course Mr. Thompson suggests.

In the use of historical material the author has fallen into some errors which should be pointed out. His account of the migrations of the primitive Mexicans, taken from Bancroft, is held by modern students to be erroneous. His statement that the *encomienda* system was materially affected by the promulgation of the "New Laws" in 1542-1543 is again erroneous. The *encomienda* system persisted legally until

the eighteenth century, when it was superseded by a system of providing the Indians with seeds, food, tools, and work animals by the *alcaldes mayores*. The actual practices of the *encomienda* and the *alcalde* system are the direct forerunners of the perpetual debt system which characterizes modern peonage. These criticisms are not intended to belittle the real value of much of the material contained in the three volumes, notably in *The People of Mexico*. In the latter work the discussion of the vitality of the Mexican people, their religion and their actual programs, are amongst the most valuable parts. It is in such chapters as these that the book rises from the position of documentary record of the disappointment experienced by foreigners in Mexico at the ill success of their program of development of natural resources, and becomes a genuine contribution to the study of Mexican economic and political conditions.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

University of California.

California Trails, Intimate Guide to the old Missions. By TROWBRIDGE HALL. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. Pp. (10), 243. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

The historical parts of this interesting volume are taken mainly from Bancroft, Hittel, and Engelhardt, who the author says in his "foreword" practically exhaust all original sources—thus ignoring (let us hope unwittingly) all the careful, conscientious work of the present California historical school, which has unearthed much that is new and made more intimate and detailed much that is told by its predecessors. However, history serves here a minor part, playing, indeed, if the simile be permitted, somewhat the same role as the chorus in the Greek play. It is the thread upon which is strung something of the story of the California missions.

This account of the missions and El Camino Real (the Royal Road) of old Spanish days is, as might be expected, conceived and executed in an artistic manner. The author has made use of the striking events connected with the founding and life of the missions, rightly weaving his story about the founders, into whose thoughts and purposes he enters with an easy tolerance that lends charm to the narrative. Fact is interspersed with legend in such a manner that no page of the book is dull or uninviting. Old Spanish days, which still give an aroma to the present in many parts of California, are contrasted with the present at every instant. Clearly this is a book to be read without too critical an eye on details but for the mere enjoyment thereof.

For if truth be told, the old economic order fathered by the missions had to disappear, much as that may be regretted, if the spirit of progress and initiative was to come to this unrivaled district. The part played by the missionaries in the history of California must always be remembered, for it was basic. One must not forget, however, that the missions were only a part of the Spanish policy in the colonies, and that the history of the colonies is to be judged by a consideration of all the factors. The missions bred up a surrounding that depended solely upon them. The moment any disaster struck any mission, that moment its careful and enthusiastic work fell to pieces. Thus, the native populations that had been so sedulously gathered and trained by the missionaries, melted away as soon as the Mexican government, the inheritor of Spain in this region, secularized the missions. The vast herds and flocks of the missionaries were dissipated, and solitude overtook the land which men like Junipero Serra, that ardent and heroic missionary, had appraised with more than the usual keenness. In their place has grown up a new order that is less romantic, it is true, but vastly more full of meaning to the world at large, made possible, however largely because of the blazing of the way by the Spanish soldiers and missionaries. The present civilization fortunately, has set about preserving, though too late perhaps, in some instances, what is left of the old missions in California—paradoxical as it may seem the practical age is full of that idealism that tends to preserve something of the former romanticism.

Mr. Hall takes us along *el Camino Real*, to all the missions in turn, starting in at San Diego de Alcalá and ending at Sonoma. The Royal Road he says, could once be traveled by any person, rich or poor, without the expense of a single penny, and a charming picture is drawn of the hospitality of the missions. The picture is much the same as that of the missions in the Philippines down to the last days of Spanish occupation (1898), but there, as in California, a better economic system has sprung up. The descriptions of the life of the natives about the missions, the protecting care of the missionaries, and their canny dealings with them in the matter of work are well portrayed. Old customs of Spaniards and Indians are described vividly.

The illustrations really illustrate and add to the charm of the book. The text is marred by several errors in proofreading. It is to be hoped that the misspelling of the word "Stanford" (p. 213) both as applied to the man and to the University comes under this heading, especially since the author dates his foreword at Pasadena. On page 234, Father

Altimira, the founder of the last mission, that of Sonoma, is spoken of as "an experienced and conceited young friar", and on the following page he is called a Jesuit—an inconsistency which is inexcusable. However, the book is well worth reading, even by Californians who are supposed to know something of the history and present charm of the old missions which it is to be hoped will long be preserved as one of the attractions of the great state of California.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Foreign Trade Markets and Methods. By CLAYTON SEDGWICK COOPER. (New York and Boston: D. Appleton and Company, 1922. Pp. xv, 440. Illustrations; index. \$3.50.)

As well as "the how" and "the where" of foreign trade, Mr. Cooper in this volume pays considerable attention "to the peoples themselves with whom we are dealing and with whom our international commercial relations are certain to be increasingly intimate as the years pass". That is to say, the book is partly technical and partly descriptive and analytical.

Of its twenty-nine chapters, two (27 and 28) treat of Hispanic America and one (18) of the Philippines. Chapter 27, "Caribbean markets", discusses: proximity a factor in overseas commerce; Mexican resources; export and import conditions; Cuba: the world's sugar bowl; an increasingly large market for the United States; markets with Porto Rico, Haiti and San Domingo; American business-hold upon the Central American republics; the land of the banana; an example of American vision and industry in Central America in industrial production. Chapter 28, "Winning South American trade", contains material on the following: How alone South American trade can be won; assistance of the Webb Law and Edge Act to American manufacturers; The Panama Canal as a vital factor; service and capital as prime requirements; foreign investments and accomplishments in South America; reasons for South American dependence upon foreign initiative; chief products of South American export; things that South America imports; meeting European competition; following up the admiration gained for us by South America during the war; careful attention to details in adjusting business with South America. The chapter on the Philippines "Trade possibilities and industrial progress in the Philippines", treats of the westernization of the Philippines; chief exports and imports; results of the war; trade schools; transportation facilities required; labor problems; difficulties of long range legislation for the Philippines; the American political dilemma.

In these chapters, as in the entire volume, the historical method is frequently employed, trade naturally being a topic that leads to historical treatment. Indeed, the trade of today is the history of tomorrow. Here as in other parts of the book, the author gives evidence of wide reading and extensive travel. He well expresses the importance of Hispanic America in the trade of the United States. The chapters on Hispanic America should be read by American business men who are about to extend their trade to that section of the world, not so much because of the wealth of information concerning its trade, but because of the composite background offered and their suggestiveness. In the chapter on the Philippines, Manila is said to have a population of nearly a million, although it is not even half that. On page 287, he says: "These same colonists [the Americans] have converted the city of Manila, which only a few years ago served as a dumping ground and sanctuary for grafters and criminals and the expatriated men and women of Eastern Asia, worse even than any Levantine Port Said, into a city of order and cleanliness". This is too strong an expression by far. Manila, in its worst days of license, did not begin to approach to the reputation of Port Said or its neighboring cities. Comparatively little is said of the trade of the Philippines, though enough to show its importance; but Mr. Cooper was apparently interested (although only superficially) in the status of the islands as it was reflected by the several matters that came to his attention, and in their future progress and political life.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Industrial and Commercial South America. By ANNIE S. PECK, A.M., F.R.G.S. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, [1922]. Pp. xviii, 507. Maps; index. \$5.00.)

This book is an index of the present-day interest in South America. Its author has made six trips to the southern continent, during which she has had ample opportunity to study the various countries. Her work is intended chiefly to impart information to Americans who are interested in South America from a business standpoint, but will prove of interest as well to the historical or other special students of that continent.

In her treatment of her subjects, Miss Peck after a short chapter on South America as a whole, describes the various countries which she divides *pro forma* into the three groups of the north coast, the west coast, and the east coast. In the first group, she devotes six chapters to

Colombia, five to Venezuela, and two to the Guianas; in the second, five each to Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, and four to Bolivia; and to the third, five to Argentina, four to Paraguay, three to Uruguay, and six to Brazil. She concludes her book proper with a chapter on South American trade, and one on Life in South America. An appendix contains information with regard to postal regulations and cable facilities; lists of leading banks in South America; a list of steamship lines to South America; and a list of publications, relative to South America, both of books and of periodicals.

For each country, information is presented relative to the area, history, government, population, etc., the physical characteristics, the geographical divisions, cities, etc., the ports (if a maritime country) and transportation, and the resources and industries. The material on resources and industries is, perhaps, the most valuable part of the volume, although the general description of the several countries will be found useful and interesting. The historical part is necessarily very meager, and touches only on a few salient facts. Still, it is singular that no mention is made in treating of Chile of the Araucanians; while in Paraguay no mention appears of the influence of the Jesuits. The proper emphasis is laid on the waterways of Brazil, and on the dominant industries of each country. But no mention is noticed of the impetus given during the war to the establishment of certain industries, especially in Brazil.

Many who know their South America, probably as well as Miss Peck or perhaps better than herself, will not agree with her rather wholesale denunciation of the representatives of American firms, who as a matter of fact measure up well with the representatives of other nations. There are, and always will be, some representatives of American concerns in South America, who do little honor to their country, but taken as a whole, the United States is represented in South America by men of character. It should also be noted that a continually increasing science of salesmanship is to be observed among American representatives.

Some will take exception to Miss Peck's theory of accent (see her foreword). For instance, why "Panamá", if not "Perú"? There are also other inconsistencies. Her arguments for the use of "Chile" but of "Chilian" and "Chilians" is not convincing. The diction might be improved at times. In the statistics presented, she might in some cases have presented later data which could have been obtained in Washington from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Com-

merce. However, a great deal of useful information has been gathered together in this volume which will be of service to many who do not wish to consult many books. It should be now in conjunction with the more voluminous *Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America* published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (a revised edition of which will soon appear). The volume has eight serviceable maps and a fair finding index.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

American Foreign Trade. By CHARLES M. PEPPER. (New York: The Century Co., 1919. Pp. xv, 350. Index. \$2.50 net.)

In this volume Mr. Pepper, who was at one time foreign trade adviser of the Department of State, tells the story of "the United States as a world power in the new era of international commerce". This "new era of international commerce" has been induced by the European War, says Mr. Pepper. "Foreign trade for the first time in their history has come to have definite meaning to the American people." New responsibilities have to be assumed if this country will make a full success. This book has been written in order to present "information concerning the resources, the industries, and the trade of the several sections of the world, the economic tendencies and the fiscal policies of the nations". The United States is the commanding factor, thinks Mr. Pepper, in the new era which is one of international cooperation in finance and trade far greater than at any previous time. However, the United States will develop its world trade through the individualistic impulse rather than through paternalistic measures in accordance with its tendencies and history.

Four of the twenty-one chapters treat of the trade of Hispanic America, namely chapters XIII to XVI inclusive. Chapter XIII, "Economic South America", discusses the following: the southern continent a world market; export taxes a Spanish colonial inheritance; limited resources for manufactures; agricultural and mineral products the source of purchasing power; Brazil's rubber and coffee; iron ore and manganese; decentralized fiscal policy; Argentina's grain and livestock; lack of minerals; Uruguay and Paraguay; Chile's copper and nitrates; protective tariff tendencies; Peru's varied products; protective and export duties; Bolivia and Ecuador; The Caribbean region. Chapter XIV, "South America as a market for Europe", treats of the salient geographical aspects of South America; interchange among the several countries; ocean routes to the old world; Panama Canal; racial ties

with Europe; immigration from the Mediterranean countries; French intellectual influence a trade factor; Spain and Italy; reasons for England's primacy; a century's normal growth; British investments; Germany's methods; Teutonic colony in Brazil unimportant; market in other countries not lost; tragedy of Belgium's commerce; Europe's prospects. Chapter XV, "South America as a market for the United States", contains material on the aspirations from Clay to Blaine; trade not hampered by tariff policy of the United States; Brazilian preference; analysis of general commerce; nature of increase during the war; shift from Europe; permanent and temporary gains; character of after-the-war business; causes of favorable and adverse balances; basis of future growth; loans and investments; development enterprises; what a billion dollars invested in South America will mean. In Chapter XVI, "Economic destiny in the Caribbean", are treated: what the purchase of the Danish islands foreshadows; the Caribbean crescent as an economic curve; Cuba's sugar cane and tobacco; Porto Rico's coffee and sugar; British possessions; Jamaica an isolated unit; proposed Canadian-West-Indian federation; trade agreement of 1913; Panama and Central America; bananas and coffee; foreign investments; economic advantages of increased productiveness in the Caribbean area; influence of the United States; positive national policy; the protectorates; Nicaragua treaty; benevolent coercion; Santo Domingo's objection; significance of the Haitian treaty; promise of stability and order; future commerce.

Before reading these chapters the reader should peruse carefully the first ten chapters, in which the author takes up the following subjects: What foreign trade is; the farm in foreign trade; machinery and nationalized efficiency; raw materials; the diplomacy of commerce; economic alliances and favored nations; British trade policy; American trade policy (two chapters); and the cargo carriers. Of the several areas treated the greatest amount of space is given to Hispanic America (pp. 183-247). Mr. Pepper believes that "South America is the most inviting commercial field that the world has to offer".

He writes throughout in an easy style that makes his book readable. The historical student will find the chapters on Hispanic America (as indeed the entire volume), valuable for economic history. Comparatively few statistics have been presented, as the author did not wish to burden his audience with them, notwithstanding he voices his opinion "that the trade statistician, followed with discrimination, is a much safer guide than the political economist . . . or the platform

orator". The work is not, however, in any sense a technical treatise on foreign trade although it can be used to advantage with a work of that character, and because of the varied information in it might find use as a textbook in courses on foreign trade. Protests may be heard from certain quarters that the last of the chapters on Hispanic America is written in too imperialistic a vein and that "manifest destiny" is stressed too strongly. Be that as it may, the volume is worth consideration, and a careful reading.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Asia at the Crossroads: Japan; Korea; China; and Philippine Islands.

By E. ALEXANDER POWELL. (New York: The Century Co., 1922. Pp. xxi, 369. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

This is a thoughtful book which has been written in a critical but not captious spirit, and contains a surprising amount of information. Throughout, its author appears to have endeavored consciously to portray conditions as they exist. The book, therefore, is neither a eulogy nor a condemnation in its entirety, but a plain statement of certain facts and conclusions that are worth consideration. It is essentially an attempt, and a very successful one, to bring before its readers the main issues now to the front in the four regions studied.

This review concerns itself only with the last section—that on the Philippine Islands; for excellent as are the sections on Japan, Korea, and China, they fall quite outside the scope of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. The last section (pp. 273-347), is, however, proper material for discussion here, because the Philippines, during the greater part of their Spanish history, formed an outpost for the Spanish colonies in the Americas.

Mr. Powell rightly condemns Americans for their ignorance concerning the Philippines, their peoples, and their problems. It is this ignorance, as the author points out, which leads many Americans to underrate the Philippines and to do an injustice to the country and its inhabitants. He is convinced, on the other hand, and quite rightly, notwithstanding Filipino utterances to the contrary, that the term "Filipinos" does not refer to a single people, but to a congeries of peoples. Undoubtedly these various units (together with at least the so-called "wild tribes") are working toward a single people, and if progress be kept alive that end will be attained one day, although not within the very near future. That the variation in people is felt in the Philippines is proved by the recent bill before the Philippine legis-

lature, which failed to pass by only seven votes, to add to the present official languages (English and Spanish) seventeen others of those spoken in the archipelago. Assimilation of the Moros, the Mohammedan peoples to the south, to a common stock, is unlikely, for the bar of religion is one not lightly passed over. The so-called "wild peoples" will assimilate much more readily.

Naturally much of the space of the section deals with the various peoples. Curiously, the Pampango are not named in the enumeration of the various Filipino or Christian peoples, while the Macabebes, who are a branch of the Pampango are named as a tribe. In discussing the so-called "wild peoples", the Igorot and Bontok are confused and spoken of as one people. The Igorot are called headhunters, but they have not been so for many generations, although the Bontok are, and would probably resume the practice, if control were removed. Mr. Powell finds correctly that the mestizo or Chinese and Spanish half castes form the more intelligent classes, but thinks (without much justification) that the pure bloods may possibly predominate after many generations of education.

After a discussion of the government and the functions of some of its units, the Filipino cry for complete political independence is broached—and this is the point toward which the author has been working. Under virtual autonomy, various parts of the service have lamentably degenerated, including the finances. Americans, while they have worked for the good of the islands, have not endeared themselves often to the people because of tactlessness and refusal to grant social privileges. The Harrison regime granted too much in the way of government and gave greater force to the independence demand. The present governor should be backed up by the government of the United States. If contrary to the recommendations of the Woods-Forbes mission, independence be granted in the near future, he asks, very appropriately, to whom shall the reins of government be turned over—to this or that people, "to the great brown mass of people who are the real natives of the islands," or to the "little group of half-caste politicians and agitators who are at present in the saddle." Are we to see that the "wild peoples" get a "square deal" and what shall be done about the Moros? Are we prepared to intervene and restore order if necessary? And lastly, shall we guarantee the islands against outside aggression?

Manifestly, there is nothing new in this section, but it does put various problems squarely up to the American people which will have to

be met and answered either one way or another. In order to answer them rightly, so that no injustice may be done, Americans need to know the facts.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Philippines Past and Present. By DEAN C. WORCESTER. 2 vols. in 1. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921. Pp. 1, 1024, Illus., Maps, index.)

This is the third edition of a work first published in two separate volumes in 1914, this edition being the same as the first edition except for the addition of a new chapter (also appearing in the second edition of November, 1914) entitled "One year of the 'New Era'" (the Harrison regime). Its author, as is wellknown, not only served as a member of the Philippine Commission from 1899 to 1913, but had already visited the Philippines in 1886-1887, as a member of a scientific expedition and had written a book about them. He can, therefore, speak from firsthand knowledge of the Philippines and their people, and his book is valuable as a personal record.

Professor Worcester was much interested in the so-called "wild peoples" and a considerable portion and in some ways the best part of his work deals with them. As secretary of the interior of the Commission government, he had the non-Christian peoples under his management, and he was able to set in motion forces for their betterment of more permanent value than the Spaniards had been able to do during all the time of their occupation of the Philippines. He exercised a vitalizing force on the Commission although Filipinos and some Americans have charged that he was wanting in tact and needlessly antagonized the Christian Filipinos.

His record of the insurrection against Spain and the United States is valuable, although LeRoy's unfinished *Americans in the Philippines* is a better account so far as it goes. The account of the early contact with the Filipinos, of the organization of government, of the health movement, of the establishment of the bureau of science, of education, and of many other factors entering into the American program are of decided value to the student of this period. The book is marred to some extent by the animadversions which the author permits himself to employ in answering various charges made against him or his work by Judge Blount in his generally discredited book. The descriptive chapters are excellent. These are several appendices, among which are the instructions to the First and Second Philippine Commissions, past and present organiza-

tion of the courts of the Philippine Islands, and other useful material. The added chapter, which precedes the rest of the book is virtually an attack on the Harrison regime and will be read with interest by all who know the working of the preceding government, which with all its faults, was constructive and on the whole unselfish.

Professor Worcester was an indefatigable and conscientious worker and has left an indelible impress on the Philippines. His work gives some idea of his work, and stands in a group of five or six that are indispensable to the student of the American regime. There is a good map of the islands, and the illustrations are generally excellent.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Filipino Popular Tales. Memoirs of The American Folk-Lore Society, XII. Collected and edited, with comparative notes, by DEAN S. FANSLER, PH.D. (Lancaster, Pa., and New York: published by the American Folk-Lore Society (G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, agents), 1921. Pp. xix, 473. Index.)

Dr. Fansler collected these stories while connected with the educational work in the Philippines. The various stories are divided into Hero tales and drolls; Fables and animal stories; "Just-so" stories; and Filipino stories given in the notes. The stories are given exactly as they are told by the Filipinos, except that they have been translated into English. The notes are those of a trained scholar, and are of scientific value.

The stories, which in many, if not all, instances are related in one form or another throughout the Philippines, are often of great antiquity, but some of them show the influence of Christianity, evidently having been changed somewhat from their original form. Some may, indeed, have originated after the arrival of the Spaniards. It can be shown that old legends and myths or old beliefs are still related in many parts of the Philippines almost exactly as they were reported by the early conquistadors. Such stories have, then, an historic value, and Dr. Fansler is to be commended for his careful work in preserving so many of these popular tales. The reviewer has in his possession a number of old tales, myths, charms, etc., that date back to before the Spanish conquest, which he hopes to publish in the not far distant future.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A CAMPAIGN FOR INTER-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

Today is full of peril for international friendship. Conditions in Europe are much the same as they were in the early days of July, 1914. It is possible that because the world is so war weary the present crisis will not lead to another world debacle as did the murder of a prince in a little country town in Austria eight years ago. If we escape war this time it will not mean that we are removed from the danger. Hatreds fired by intense nationalism and imperialistic schemes, are laying up for the world, unless they are stopped a certain universal conflagration compared with which the last war will be the merest trifle. The only way to avoid the danger of having some little isolated incident throw out of balance our delicately-poised international relations and plunge the world into war, is a determined effort to build friendship and international agreements that will make such a tragedy impossible.

America ought to set the example in this matter. The old world is largely looking to the new world for leadership. Witness the recent election of an Hispanic American to the presidency of the League of Nations, and the desperate efforts to secure the cooperation of the United States in the rehabilitation of Europe.

But when we come to America what do we find? Anglo-Saxons and Hispanic Americans living apart, misunderstanding one another and unable to unite for the service which the rest of the world is needing in order to save all concerned from going down together, in the midst of jealousies and hatreds.

There are, however, signs of promise on the horizon in spite of a century of misunderstanding between the Americas. The most decisive problem in all South America which has kept that continent trembling on the brink of war for the last forty years, the Tacna and Arica question, is on its way to settlement, thanks to the magnanimous actions of Chile and Peru, inspired by the friendship of the North American government. The first Pan-American Conference of Women held recently in Baltimore, where representative women of all the Americas mingled in frank friendship and helpful conference as they discussed

the social and educational problems of the whole continent; the recent visit of the Secretary of State of the United States to Brazil; the recent withdrawal of the United States troops from Santo Domingo; the thousands of students from Hispanic American countries in the United States; the five hundred teachers from the North who attended summer school in Mexico City; the arrangement of the national debt of Mexico recently consummated between the Mexican Government and the International Bankers' Committee; the fast flying steamers now plying between New York and Buenos Aires on the East Coast and New York through the Panama Canal to Valparaiso on the West; the first attempt at inaugurating air service between New York and Rio de Janeiro: these and many other things are promises of closer friendship. The greatest single event in the history of American relations is no doubt to take place in Santiago, Chile, next spring when the Fifth Pan-American Conference is to meet. That conference can easily make or break inter-American friendship now so delicately poised. If all Americans can get together for a constructive and helpful program of cooperation it will mean the salvation of the world. If the Santiago conference is allowed to close its sessions without a frank and full understanding between the twenty-one American republics and without a program of cooperation, we will see the world further divided and an international conflict which will destroy our very civilization will have come very much closer to us.

What can you and I do in this world crisis? Shall we fold our hands and say because we are only private citizens with no special power, no influence, no "pull", we can only stand and wait? That is the policy that has brought about all destructive war. A little while before the Disarmament Conference met in Washington the public began to realize that the officials expected little to be accomplished. A few earnest people began to arouse public opinion and in the United States alone 11,000,000 communications, including resolutions from all kind of important organizations, telegrams, and letters from eminent and humble alike, urgings from every corner of the republic, went to Washington demanding that the Conference do something to relieve the world of the awful burden of taxation for armament and war. Besides these direct demands upon the government literally hundreds of organizations sprang up for the purpose of awakening and educating the people on this, the mightiest question that the nations were facing. Indeed it was because of the educational campaign of these organizations that most of these 11,000,000 demands were sent to Washington

and similar ones to London, Paris, and Tokio. The people of the American nations ought to take the same vital interest in the coming conference at Santiago.

The four Pan-American conferences held in the past have been largely meetings of acquaintanceship. They have been ruled too largely by questionings and by suspicion. They have often feared to face in the open the great problems that were underlying the lack of friendship on the American continent. If the Fifth Pan-American Conference is really to face the great problems of inter-American coöperation it will be because there is a new understanding among the people that their representatives at the next conference shall frankly face and solve these difficulties which have driven North and South into misunderstandings. Will you form a part of the great offensive against misunderstandings on the American continent? Will you help to educate the American people, North and South, before the meeting of this conference concerning the important questions which it faces and show the need of practical results, the elimination of rivalries, the doing away with imperialism, reduction of armaments, the production of a working machinery for coöperation? The Americans, North and South, differ in certain things. They have a different history and psychology but so have Americans of Massachusetts and Virginia; so have Americans of Sonora and Yucutan, of Rio Grande do Sul and Pernambuco. Each has his own local reason for being selfish, for being egotistical. But we have come to a place in the world where we simply must live together, like it or not. In the old days of oxcarts people could live apart but in these days of aeroplanes and radiograph and fast steamships, America, the new land where all new modes of life are immediately adopted, is the last place in the world to expect its people to live isolated. If civilization is to be saved the Fifth Pan-American Conference must give us relief from past misunderstandings and a real working program toward future friendship. God save us from this appeal simply for the sake of America! It is not America for America that we need today but America for humanity. America must do her great share in saving the world or she herself will be lost. Away then with our prejudices and appeals to past mistakes! (God knows they have been plentiful on both sides of every boundary line in the twenty-one republics!) On to a program of education to enlighten the people from the Great Lakes to the Straits of Magellan concerning the jeopardies of civilization and the opportunities before a United States to bring world peace and prosperity. We invite every reader of these words to join us in

this campaign of education. Talk to the next man you meet about this question. Call a little group of friends together at your home or your club to discuss this question. Talk it through with your fellow workmen, in the office, in the school, or in the factory. Let us know that America still has the sacrificial passion of its early liberators, that it is capable of conquering the junkers, the imperialists, the carping nationalists, and all sowers of hatreds. Thus we shall substitute friendship, not only in America but in the entire world, for that most barbarous of all oppressors, cruel and inhumane—War.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN.

The above trenchant appeal was sent to the Editor by Dr. Inman, in answer to a request by the former. This appeal was first made by Dr. Inman to his class at Columbia University, and was later cabled to South America. Its contents are worthy the sober consideration of every American, North or South. It is hoped that each teacher of Hispanic American History will bring it to the attention of his students. If the Old World has failed in its attempts to bring about harmony and good understanding, it has been because the attempts have been after all half-hearted. It behooves the New World to preserve order along its own marches first by a real friendship and then to move unitedly on the prejudices, petty bickerings, and hostilities of the Old. The coming Pan-American Conference presents a rare opportunity for the accomplishment of much good.—Ed.

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, of the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America, whose "Appeal" appears above, has as close an understanding of Hispanic America as any North American, for he has traveled it extensively in all directions, not once but often. He has recently returned from a visit to Mexico during which he gave many addresses. The following excerpts are taken from a travel letter recently sent out:

The most remarkable gathering was probably the one arranged by the Secretary of Education in the National Museum, when he instructed the principal of every public school in the city of Mexico to be present at a lecture which he asked me to give on social movements in America. There were about three hundred educators there, including the Minister of Education himself.

I was also invited to lecture at the National University before the Student Federation of Mexico City, which represents 20,000 students in secondary schools of the City, before the feminist organization, and a group of leading men and women organized for the promotion of morality. I was invited to visit a number of remarkable educational experiments and social movements. One of these was

what might be described as a George Jr. Republic, where a remarkable Mexican teacher who had never heard of Montessori has gathered together 900 waifs from the bowery district of Mexico City. In five months he has taught them to read and write, to keep clean, to respect one another and to carry on their school without any disciplinary measures. Another interesting visit was to a night school where a young Mexican has gathered around him 500 young men and women all of whom call one another "comrade" and believe they are socialists set to remake the world.

Everywhere there is stir, questioning, and desire for new life. Over and over again I heard people say that Mexico must have a new moral and social emphasis. In the old days the government was expected to do everything. Now the young men and women of the country are assuming responsibilities for education, social and moral development.

Dr. Inman tells of a Social Center which was opened recently in Mexico. He says of it:

This social center includes a play-ground, an auditorium for lectures and entertainment, night classes and all kind of help for the people in the neighborhood. It was so successful that the director was led to suggest to the American Colony that, instead of presenting a statue of some North American hero or a loving-cup to Mexico on the celebration of her centennial last year, it present a play-ground to the City. This suggestion was taken up with enthusiasm and now Mexico City has one of the best equipped play-grounds on the American continent. It is conducted by a permanent committee of the Rotary Club, composed of American and Mexican business men. This play-ground is revolutionizing in the City of Mexico the idea of caring for children. When it was first opened the children, entirely unaccustomed to play, did not know what to do. Experts were employed, however, to direct the grounds. Children who were underfed and who would fall down exhausted after a little play have been followed up and given the necessary food to strengthen them. The by-products of the play-ground are seen in many different places.

It seems to me that I have never found in Mexico such an earnest desire for friendship with the United States and such a universal recognition of what Mexico can learn from the United States as I found on this trip. Everywhere there was an endeavor to show this friendship. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, after a long interview, invited me to take luncheon with him in his home. He afterward arranged an interview with President Obregon and sent the official car to call for me at the Union Theological Seminary. I was supposed to have ten minutes with President Obregon but was with him for nearly an hour. He did not hesitate to answer any questions that I asked and his manner was so open that I felt free to ask anything I desired to know. He is on the job every minute. His eyes twinkle, his mind scintillates and often he jumps right into the middle of one of your sentences anticipating your question and responds. He said that Mexico was far behind in her development and she could not afford to go along the regular path of development, counting only on herself, but that she must take the best from the United States and other nations and move swiftly

toward the top. He explained his sympathetic attitude toward all the social movements. He told me of his fight in reducing the army and its budget and multiplying the budget for education. The fact that he has reduced the army from over a hundred thousand to about fifty thousand soldiers and its budget exactly 50 per cent and at the same time has increased the budget for education about 50 per cent is significant. He has been able to bring about law and order. The propaganda which one finds today about revolutions in Mexico is mostly in the minds of those who desire such revolutions, both Mexican politicians and foreign investors. If Mexico could have the recognition of the United States government now she could strengthen her situation, both interior and exterior, so that in a few years the affairs of ten years fighting would be forgotten and only the good of the revolution predominate.

EL PRIMER TORNEO HABIDO EN LA NUEVA ESPAÑA

En alguna de sus amenas pláticas, don Luis González Obregón comparaba las investigaciones históricas con la exploración de una vasta gruta cuyos rincones ocultos revelaran a cada paso cosas inesperadas. Viene a cuento el símil del erudito señor, a propósito de cierta búsqueda que emprendí sobre el origen del título de "muy noble, insigne y muy leal," que se otorgó a la ciudad de México en los comienzos del virreinato. Inquiriendo pormenores, anoté un dato interesante, en apariencia ajeno y apartado del motivo de la investigación: en qué circunstancias tuvo lugar el torneo, mejor dicho, la *justa* más antigua—quizá la primera—celebrada en la Nueva España, el año de 1547.

Esta noticia, para mí poco útil entonces, casi la tenía olvidada cuando el señor don Manuel Romero de Terreros, Marqués de San Francisco, dio a conocer, en el número 4 del tomo IX de "Cultura", la selección titulada: "Torneos, Mascaradas y Fiestas Reales en la Nueva España". En el prólogo de dicha selección escribió, hablando de los torneos, las justas y los pasos de armas: "Estos ejercicios caballerescos fueron introducidos en México por los españoles desde los primeros tiempos del coloniaje, pero no queda noticia de alguno en particular, si se exceptúa el verificado en la Capital de la Nueva España, con motivo del bautizo de los mellizos de Don Martín Cortés." (30 de junio de 1566.)

Proporcioné al señor Marqués de San Francisco el dato que poseía, sugiriéndole que rectificara el punto, en un artículo enriquecido con informes biográficos, lleno de interés, como todo lo que produce; pero él, con aristocrática amabilidad, me invitó a que lo escribiera. Así, pues, con su venia y siguiendo su consejo, escribo la relación que sigue, con otros datos que logré reunir, lamentando que no sea su pluma la que en ello se ocupe.

Mientras el prudente gobierno del señor Virrey don Antonio de Mendoza, Comendador de Socuéllanos en la Orden de Santiago y Camarero del Emperador, hacía prosperar la Nueva España, en el Perú continuas discordias enfrentaban a los gobernantes con los antiguos conquistadores, provocando luchas que tenían sangriento desenlace con el asesinato de un virrey o con la ejecución de un capitán que había ganado tierras para el Emperador y luego se alzaba con ellas. Así Gonzalo Pizarro—hijo bastardo del coronel del mismo nombre llamado *el Largo*—, que “gozó fama de ser la primera lanza entre todos los conquistadores de las Indias”, volvióse contra el Virrey Blasco Núñez Vela. Temerosa la Metrópoli de perder tan ricas tierras, buscó un hombre capaz de someterlas y, después de meditarlo bien, eligió al licenciado Pedro de la Gasca, ex-colegial de San Bartolomé de Salamanca, que entonces, por ser miembro de la Santa y General Inquisición, hallábase en Valencia, ocupado en cosas del Santo Oficio. Nombrado Presidente de la Real Audiencia del Perú, llegó al Nuevo Mundo cuando acababa de morir Blasco Núñez a manos de Pizarro, y desde Panamá, a donde debió llegar a principios de 1547, “el Presidente y Capitanes—según relata don Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas—, conociendo que no se escusaba la Guerra acordaron de embiar por Navios, Gente, Armas i Caballos, a Don Antonio de Mendoza, Visorrey de Nueva-España. Con este Despacho fue Don Juan de Mendoza. . .” También escribió a Nuevo Reino de Granada, Santo Domingo y los Confines de Guatemala, solicitando auxilio. La Audiencia de los Confines encargó al oidor Ramírez de Quiñones que “era aficionado a cosas de guerra,” la organización de la gente que debería mandar él mismo, como capitán.

De la Nueva España—según Torquemada—, don Antonio de Mendoza “acudió con mucha puntualidad, y se juntaron seiscientos hombres. Fue nombrado por General de este Exercito don Francisco de Mendoza, Hijo del Virrei Don Antonio de Mendoza, y fue su Maese de Campo Christoval de Oñate.”

Don Francisco de Mendoza tenía, además de los títulos de su padre, los de Señor de las villas de Extremadura y Valdaracete, Gobernador de las minas de Guadalcanal y Capitán General de las Galeras de España. Don Luis de Castilla, Regidor y Procurador Mayor de esta Ciudad de México, que era “de lo más señalado y principal del reino”, lo describe en la “carta que estaba acordada escribir a Su Magestad”, dándole cuenta de la peligrosa y larga enfermedad del Virrey: “don francisco su hijo. . . tiene persona y abilidad para poder se serbir su magestad del (de él) en todo lo que fuere servido por ques virtuoso e bien inclinado

y en todo sigue las buenas costumbres de su padre y que tiene yspirencia de los negocios desta tierra por aberle su padre puesto en ellos despues quel esta en ella que a seys o siete años." Sumando tan nobles prendas y teniendo a su lado al excelente Cristóbal de Oñate, Conquistador y Gobernador de Nueva Galicia y fundador de la segunda Cuidad de Guadalajara, no es extraño el hecho de que, como afirma Torquemada, "moviose a ir con el toda la Gente Ilustre de la Tierra; y así era el Campo de mui lucida Gente."

En tanto que en la Nueva España se hacían esos preparativos, el oidor Ramfrez de Quiñones, que pasó a Guatemala en 18 de febrero de 1547, secundado por los alcaldes Lorenzo de Godoy y Antonio Ortiz, logró reunir en poco tiempo doscientos hombres y dirigióse a Panamá, para ponerse a las órdenes de Gasca; mas el Presidente, lleno de impaciencia, sin aguardar los refuerzos pedidos, habíase embarcado con rumbo a las costas del Perú.

Fray Juan de Torquemada informa que "antes de partir esta Gente de esta Ciudad," se efectuó "vn Alarde. . . para demonstración de la Gente y viçarria de los Soldados que iban a este Socorro." Alarde (del árabe: *alard*) era la "muestra o reseña que se hacía de los soldados y de sus armas; revista que se les pasaba; parada ostentosa." Diccionario Enciclopédico.) Don Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide ha escrito: "Así se llamaba la revista que pasaba el Rey o la persona por él encargada, a los duques, condes, ricos-homes, caballeros, escuderos y vasallos que disfrutaban de tierras o acostamiento para saber si tenían los caballos y armas necesarios y si estaban dispuestos a entrar en campaña en el instante en que se les convocase. Se efectuaba esta revista el día 1º de marzo. Posteriormente se llamaron alardes a las revistas que tenían por objeto conocer el estado de las tropas y premiar a las mejor disciplinadas e instruidas." La siguiente cita de Solís precisa la acepción: "¿tuvo circunstancias de *Alarde*, porque se atendió menos a registrar el número de la gente que a la ostentación del espectáculo".

En dicho alarde, prosigue Torquemada, "sucedió, que el General Don Francisco de Mendoça y Hernando de Salazar, Factor del Rei, para animar a los de su Campo confrontaron los Caballos, y enristraron el vno contra el otro tan furiosamente, que rompieron sus Lanças, y se encontraron los dos Caballos en las frentes, y pechos, que de el golpe caieron y quedaron muertos sin matarse los Caballeros, aunque quedaron atormentados y lastimados con la grande fuerça de los Caballos, y encuentro, que se dieron."

Tal es la descripción breve y curiosa de la primera justa efectuada en la Nueva España—la primera, por lo menos, de que hay noticia. Torquemada no fija ni la fecha ni el lugar. Aquélla puede conjeturarse, teniendo en cuenta que Rodríguez pasó a Guatemala el 18 de febrero de 1547; sería, tal vez, al mediar ese mismo año, puesto que para entonces ya deberían estar reunidos y ejercitados los seiscientos hombres. En cuanto al lugar en que se llevó a cabo la justa, seguramente fue la ciudad de México, y no es aventurado suponer que se efectuarían alarde y justa en la Plaza Mayor, dada la importancia que tuvo el suceso.

Hay un detalle que han dejado obscuro los historiadores que aluden al caso: quién fue el contrincante de don Francisco de Mendoza. El P. Andrés Cavo, en "Los Tres Siglos de México", refiere el suceso y pone a Gonzalo de Salazar, en vez de Hernando; lo mismo se lee en "México a través de los Siglos". Véamos cuál Salazar pudo haber sido. Ambos fueron factores del Rey. Gonzalo fue el primero que tuvo ese cargo, desde 1524, y era Procurador de Corte en 1543. Hernando, probablemente hijo de Gonzalo, fue Regidor en 1524 y alcalde ordinario en 1543. Firmaba como "*Fator* de S. M." en 28 de noviembre de 1542.

Aunque no poseo datos biográficos precisos, podemos colegir que Gonzalo de Salazar, siendo ya Factor del Rey en 1524, sería en 1547 un hombre más que maduro, y, por consiguiente, se hallaría poco dispuesto a batirse en el Perú y menos a justar con el hijo del Virrey "para demostración de la Gente y viçarria de los Soldados". Además, en acta de Cabildo del jueves 12 de mayo de 1547 se asienta que pidió licencia Gonzalo de Salazar, Regidor, para ir a visitar sus haciendas "e hacer lo que le conviene fuera desta cibdad". Según esto, Gonzalo de Salazar que se hallaba en sus haciendas, *fuera* de la ciudad, no pudo ser quien rompió su lanza contra don Francisco de Mendoza, suponiendo que alarde y justa se efectuaran en la ciudad de México, al mediar el año de 1547. Debe quedar, pues, Hernando, como lo asentó el fraile historiador. Por esta vez, Torquemada estuvo en lo cierto, y debemos acatar su dicho, aunque su testimonio sea con frecuencia inexacto, sobre todo en lo que se refiere a las fechas.

Volviendo a lo acaecido en el Perú, cuando Pizarro supo la llegada de La Gasca a Panamá, envió a su almirante Pedro Hinojosa la orden de envenenarlo si rehusaba aceptar cincuenta mil pesos por salir del país; mas Hinojosa rindióse y entregó la escuadra al licenciado Gasca. Gonzalo Pizarro, por sus crueldades, se hacía cada vez de mayores enemigos. Era su Maestre de Campo el legendario Francisco de Carvajal, "el

demonio de los Andes", de quien se decía que era hijo natural de César Borgia, Duque de Valentinois, y que había nacido en Ragama, nacionalizándose español después. Con este fantástico nieto del Papa Alejandro VI, con este personaje sanguinario, leal y complejo, fue ajusticiado Gonzalo Pizarro, en Xaquixaguana, al ser vencido por De la Gasca.

Torquemada agrega: "Y marchando ya para el Puerto donde se avían de Embarcar, llegaron nuevas de como ya no era necesario el Socorro, porque ya la tierra estaba pacificada y sosegada, y Justiciados Piçarro y carvajal, con los demás Rebeldes de su Aliança."

Podemos suponer que el puerto donde se habían de embarcar sería el de Tequantepec (Tehuantepec), porque el mismo autor de la "Monarchia Indiana" dice en el Libro Quinto, capítulo XI, "que trata de don Antonio de Mendoza, primer Virrey de esta Nueva-España y de cosas de su Gobierno": "En el tiempo de su Gobierno, se descubrió la Navegación del Perú, por la Mar del Sur, y se hicieron Navíos en el Puerto de Tequantepec, y fueron al Callao de Lima, cuia Navegación, descubrimiento, hiço a su costa Diego de Ocampo, Caballero Principal, natural de la Villa de Caceres, en los Reinos de Castilla, que fué vno de los Conquistadores y Pacificadores de este Nuevo Mundo; el qual, perseverando en sus honrados intentos, hiço este tan bueno, y provechoso Descubrimiento."

Se dijo en el comienzo de este artículo que lo relatado se relaciona con el origen del título y privilegio que tuvo la ciudad de México. Conforme lo asienta Gil González Dávila, en su "Teatro Eclesiástico": "El señor Emperador concedió a esta Ciudad en veinte de junio del año de 1530 el que gozase de las mismas gracias y privilegios que tiene la ciudad de Burgos, Cabeza de las los Castillas." Posteriormente, según refiere Herrera: "Alonso de Villanueva, Procurador de la Ciudad de México, representó al Rei los muchos servicios hechos por aquella Ciudad, en diversas ocasiones, i el amor, i obediencia con que siempre havían acudido a sus órdenes, i cumplidolas; lo que mostrando vltimamente aquella Ciudad, quanto deseaba ocuparse en su Real Servicio, havía gastado, para poner en orden la Gente de Guerra que embiaba al Perú, por el llamamiento del Licenciado Gasca, aunque por no haver sido menester la mandaron quedar, como a la de Santo Domingo, Nuevo Reino de Granda, i otras partes. Y porque de los servicios de la Ciudad huviese perpetua memoria i pareciera que el Rei se tenía por servido de su lealtad, le suplicaba, le hiciese gracia de dar Titulo a la Ciudad de México, de mui Noble, Insigne, i Leal, pues tan justamente

lo merecía. El Rei, acatando sus servicios tuvo por bien que se intitulasen mui Noble, Insigne, i mui Leal, i que lo pudiese poner en sus Armas, i en todas, i qualquier partes, i Escrituras, i vsar de este Titulo, para lo qual se le mando despachar Privilegio, lo qual debieron de hacer los de México, despertados de las alteraciones del Perú. . ." (Herrera. Década VIII. Libro V. Capítulo VI.)

Por último, en el acta de Cabildo del viernes 7 de junio de 1549 puede leerse: "Este día recibieron cartas de los procuradores de Castilla y con ellas las provisiones y cédulas siguientes: (de su magestad). El prebillejo (privilegio) del título desta cibdad. . . ."

FRANCISCO MONTERDE GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA.

México.

[TRANSLATION]

THE FIRST TOURNAMENT HELD IN NEW SPAIN

In some one of his pleasant talks, Don Luis González Obregón compared historical investigations to the exploration of a vast cave, whose hidden corners will reveal unexpected things at every step. The simile of the erudite gentleman is apropos with relation to a certain investigation which I undertook on the origin of the title "very noble, notable, and very loyal", which was bestowed on the city of Mexico in the early days of the viceroyalty. On seeking details, I jotted down some interesting data, apparently quite outside of and distinct from the purpose of the investigation, of the circumstances surrounding the tournament, or rather the earliest jousting—perhaps the first—celebrated in New Spain in the year 1547.

This notice, then of little use to me, I had almost forgotten, when Señor Don Manuel Romero de Terreros, Marqués de San Francisco, published in number 4, volume IX. of *Cultura*, his paper intitled "Royal tournaments, mascarades, and festivals in New Spain". In the prologue of the above mentioned paper, he wrote when speaking of tournaments, joustings, and passages of arms: "These knightly exercises were introduced into Mexico by the Spaniards in the earliest days of colonization, but there remains no notice of any one in particular, with the exception of that held in the capital of New Spain, at the time of the baptism of the twins of Don Martín Cortés (June 30, 1566)."

I communicated to the Marqués de San Francisco the data in my possession, with the suggestion that he rectify the matter in an article enriched with biographical information full of interest, as are all his productions. He, however, with aristocratic amiability, invited me to write the article. So then, with his favor, and following his advice, I write the relation set down below, using other data which I have succeeded in obtaining, but regretting that it is not his pen which is occupied in it.

While the prudent government of Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, knight commander of Socuéllanos in the Order of Santiago, and chamberlain of the emperor, was making New Spain prosper, continual quarrels among the old conquistadors in Peru confronted the governors. Struggles were provoked which had a bloody ending with the assassination of a viceroy or with the execution of a captain who had gained lands for the emperor and afterwards appropriated them for himself. In such manner, Gonzalo Pizarro—the bastard son of the colonel of the same name, called “El largo” i.e. “the Big”—who “enjoyed the reputation of being the foremost lance of all the conquistadors of the Indies”, revolted against Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela. The mother country, fearful of losing those so rich lands, sought for a man capable of subduing them, and after considerable thought, chose Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, former collegiate of San Bartolomé de Salamanca, who was in Valencia at that time, inasmuch as he was a member of the holy and general inquisition, busied with affairs of the holy office. Having been appointed president of the royal audiencia of Peru, he arrived in the new world just after the death of Blasco Núñez at the hands of Pizarro. From Panama, where he must have arrived at the beginning of 1547, “the president and captains—according to Don Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas—recognizing that the war could not be avoided agreed to send by ships to Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, for men, arms, and ships. With this despatch went Don Juan de Mendoza. . . .” He also wrote to the new kingdom of Granada, to Santo Domingo, and the territory of Guatemala, begging aid. The audiencia of the territory placed the oidor Ramírez de Quiñones who “was given to military matters”, in charge of the organization of the men whom he as captain was to command.

From New Spain, according to Torquemada, Don Antonio de Mendoza answered the call very promptly and six hundred men were enlisted. Don Francisco de Mendoza, son of Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, was appointed general of this army, and Christoval de Oñate was his master of camp.

Don Francisco de Mendoza, besides the titles of his father, held those of Lord of the villages of Extremadura and Valdaracete, governor of the mines of Guadalcanal, and captain general of the galleys of Spain. Don Luis de Castillo, regidor and procurator in chief of this city of Mexico, who was “one of the most renowned and important men of the kingdom”, describes him in the “letter which it was determined should be written to his majesty”, informing him of the long and dangerous illness of the viceroy: “Don Francisco his son . . . has the personality and ability that enable your majesty to make use of him in any way you please, for he is virtuous and well inclined and follows in everything the excellent procedure of his father. He has experience in the affairs of this land, for his father gave him charge of affairs since he came hither six or seven years ago.” Being possessed of gifts so noble, and having at his side the excellent Cristóbal de Oñate, conquistador and governor of New Galicia, and founder of the second city of Guadalajara, it is not strange, as Torquemada affirms that “all the high born people of the country were moved to accompany him; and thus the camp was composed of very brilliant men”.

While those preparations were being made in New Spain, Oidor Ramírez de Quiñones, who repaired to Guatemala on February 18, 1547, aided by Alcaldes Lorenzo de Godoy and Antonio Ortiz, succeeded in a few days in enlisting two

hundred men and then proceeded to Panama to place himself under the orders of Gasca. But the president, full of impatience, without awaiting the reinforcements which had been asked, had embarked for the shores of Peru.

Fray Juan de Torquemada reports that "before these soldiers left this city" there was held "a review . . . in order to show off the men and the bravery of the soldiers who were about to lend this assistance. "Alarde" i.e., "Review" (from the Arabic "*alard*") was the show or parade which was made of the soldiers and their arms; an examination which was made of them, in order to show them off (*Diccionario Enciclopédico*)". Don Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide has written: Thus was the examination called which the king or the person charged thereto by him made of the dukes, counts, grandees, knights, squires, and vassals who enjoyed lands or salary, in order to ascertain whether they had the necessary horses and arms and whether they were ready to take the field as soon as they might be summoned. This review was held on the first day of March. Recently, the name "*alarde*" was given to the reviews which were held for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the troops, and rewarding those best disciplined and drilled. The following quotation from Solís makes the meaning clear ". . . it had the status of an *alarde*, because less attention was given to registering the number of the people than to the display of the pageant".

In the said review, proceeds Torquemada, "it happened that General Don Francisco de Mendoza and Hernando de Salazar, the king's factor, in order to incite those of their force spurred on their horses and attacked each other so furiously that they shivered their lances, and the two horses met head to head and breast to breast, so that from the force of the shock they fell down and were left dead, without, however, the knights being killed, although they were racked and wounded because of the great force of the horses and the encounter which took place".

Such is the short and interesting description of the first jousting that took place in New Spain—the first, at least of which there is any notice. Torquemada fixes neither the date nor the place. The first might be conjectured if one remembers that Rodríguez went to Guatemala on February 18, 1547. It would be, perhaps, the middle part of that same year, since already by that time the six hundred men must have been recruited and drilled. As to the place where the jousting occurred, this was surely in the city of Mexico, and one is not rash in assuming that the review and jousting took place in the principal square, granted the importance of this event.

There is one detail which has been left obscure by historians who have alluded to this event, namely the identity of the opponent of Don Francisco de Mendoza. Father Andrés Cavo, in *Los Tres Siglos de México*, mentions the event, but says "Gonzalo de Salazar" instead of "Hernando". The same is the reading in *México a través de los Siglos*. Let us see what Salazar it could have been. Both were factors of the king. Gonzalo was the first who had that charge, dating from 1524, and was procurator of the court in 1543. Hernando, probably a son of Gonzalo, was regidor in 1524 and alcalde in ordinary in 1543. He signed as "Factor of His Majesty" on November 28, 1542.

Although I do not possess precise biographical data, we are able to infer that since Gonzalo de Salazar was already factor of the king in 1524, he would be a man past his maturity in 1547. Consequently, he would be little disposed to fight in

Peru, and even less disposed to joust with the son of the viceroy "in order to show off the people and the bravery of the soldiers". Furthermore, in the minutes of the cabildo of Thursday, May 12, 1547, it is noted that Gonzalo de Salazar, regidor, requested leave, in order to go to visit his plantations "and do what might be necessary outside this city". According to this, Gonzalo de Salazar, who was at his plantations *outside* the city, could not be the person who broke lance against Don Francisco de Mendoza, assuming that the review and jousting took place in the city of Mexico in the middle of the year 1547. It must, therefore, have been Hernando, as noted by the friar historian. For this time, Torquemada was right, and we must respect his word, although his testimony is frequently inaccurate, especially with regard to dates.

Turning to occurrences in Peru, when Pizarro heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, he sent his admiral, Pedro Hinojosa an order to poison him if he refused to accept fifty thousand pesos to leave the country. But Hinojosa surrendered and delivered up the squadron to Licentiate Gasca. Gonzalo Pizarro, continually made more enemies because of his cruelties. His master of camp was the legendary Francisco de Carvajal, "the demon of the Andes", who was said to be the natural son of Caesar Borgia, the duke of Valentinois, and who had been born in Ragama, afterward becoming naturalized as a Spaniard. With this fantastic grandson of Pope Alexander VI., with this bloody personage, loyal and complex, Gonzalo Pizarro was executed in Xaquixaguana, when he was conquered by La Gasca.

Torquemada adds: "And already while marching to the port where they were to embark, they heard that aid was no longer necessary, for already the land was pacified and quiet, and Pizarro and Carvajal executed, together with the other rebels allied with them."

We may infer that the port where they were to embark was that of Tequantepec (Tehuantepec), for the said author of the *Monarchia Indiana* says in the fifth book chapter XL, "which treats of Don Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of this New Spain and of the affairs of his government": "During the time of his government, the navigation route to Peru was discovered by way of the South Sea and ships were built in the port of Tequantepec and went to Callao de Lima. The navigation and discovery were made at his own cost by Diego de Ocampo, the foremost knight, and a native of the city of Caceres, in the kingdoms of Castile, who was one of the conquistadors and pacifiers of this new world; who preserving in his honorable purposes, made this so good and profitable discovery."

It was stated at the beginning of this article that what has been told has some relation to origin of the title and privilege of the city of Mexico. Conformably to this, Gil Gonzáles Dávila writes in his *Teatro Eclesiástico*: "On June twenty, of the year 1530, the emperor granted to this city permission to enjoy the same favors and privileges possessed by the city of Burgos, the capital of the two Castiles." Lastly, according to Herrera: "Alonso de Villanueva, procurator of the city of Mexico, represented to the king the many services rendered by that city on different occasions, and the love and obedience with which they had always hearkened to his orders and had obeyed them. That city had shown recently how greatly it desired to occupy itself in his royal service for it had incurred expense in order to place in readiness the soldiers whom it was sending to Peru at the sum-

mons of Licentiate Gasca; although as these were not needed, they were ordered to remain as were those of Santo Domingo, the New Kingdom of Granada, and other parts. And in order that the services of the city might be held in perpetual memory, and that it might appear that the king considered that he had been served by its loyalty, he petitioned the latter to bestow upon it the favor of giving to the city of Mexico the title of very noble, notable, and loyal, since this was so justly merited. The king, respecting its services, consented that it should be given the title very noble, notable, and very loyal, and that it might place this on its arms and in all and whatever parts and writings, and make use of this title. Therefore he ordered patents to be despatched to the procurator which the citizens of Mexico roused by the quarrels of Peru were to enjoy" (Herrera, decad VIII., Book V., Chapter VI.)

Lastly, in the minutes of the cabildo of Friday, June 7, 1549 one may read: "On this day they received letters from the procurators of Castile, together with the following provisions and cédulas of his majesty. The privilege of the title of this city" "

FRANCISCO MONTERDE GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA.

The Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in its circular No. 105, gives a translation of the program adopted for the Celebration of the First Centenary of Brazilian Independence. This is as follows:

I. Inauguration of a National Exposition portraying: The principal industries of Brazil and their methods, pertaining to farming, cattle-raising, fisheries, extractive industry, factory production, maritime, river, land, and aerial transportation, postal and telegraphic communication service, commerce, science, and fine arts.

The Exposition will be held in the building of the old War Arsenal (Arsenal de Guerra) and its dependencies, and on adjacent lots facing the bay, which the State and Municipality may acquire for the purpose. The necessary pavilions will be constructed on these lots, and Federal and Municipal buildings which may be ceded and which are convenient may be adapted to the Exposition needs.

Foreign Governments or industrial organizations which propose to erect, on their own account, pavilions for the exhibition of products of their country, will have space reserved for them in an area adjacent to the National Exposition area. The title to these lots will be ceded by special favor.

II. Dedication of statues of illustrious Brazilians, which may be completed at the time or during the Exposition period, September 7, 1922, to March 31, 1923.

Inauguration of the Andrade Pantheon in the city of Santos, State of São Paulo. This event is in commemoration of two patriots, brothers, who served in the cabinet of Dom Pedro I. when Brazil's independence was declared, September 7, 1822.

III. Inauguration of the Museum of Independence (Museu da Independência) which will be installed in a section of the old palace of the Quinta da Boa Vista (Boa Vista Park). This museum will contain all matters of interest in Brazilian history.

IV. Coinage of gold, silver, and bronze medals in commemoration of the Independence, which will be distributed as the Government shall determine.

V. Issue of an Independence postage stamp.

VI. Conference of the Primary Instruction Congress (Congresso de Instrucao Primaria) organized by the Municipality of the Federal District; Conference of the Secondary and Superior Education Congress organized by the University of Rio de Janeiro; and the Conference of the International Congress of American History called by the Brazilian Institute of History and Geography.

Conference of the South American Congress of Railroads and of the Twentieth International Pan-American Congress.

VII. Free exhibition on determined days to be announced from time to time, within the Exposition, of films relating to Brazilian history, geography, nature, and civilization; of landscapes, costumes, and types of life, such as beauty, culture, and progress.

VIII. Military Parade of the police forces of all the States of Brazil. Each State will be represented by one company.

IX. Review of the Brazilian fleet and of the foreign warships in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, by the President of the Republic.

X. Reception at the Military Club.

XI. Reception at the Naval Club.

XII. Official receptions and other entertainments of a similar nature.

XIII. Great civic parade on the night of the 7th of September, from the old Largo do Paco, by Rua Sete de Setembro, to Praça Tiradentes and Largo de S. Francisco filing by the statues of Dom Pedro I. and his prime minister Dom Jose Bonifacio de Andrada.

XIV. Celebration of Olympic Games. All forms and all principal organizations of national sports will be represented.

XV. Dedication of the new City Hall of Rio de Janeiro.

XVI. Dedication of the National School of Fine Arts.

XVII. Ceremonial Display of the Geographical Map of the Centenary, prepared by the Engineering Club and exhibited side by side with the map of Brazil of 1822. In connection with this event a formal presentation of the "Historic, Geographic and Ethnographic Dictionary of Brazil" which has been in preparation for the past several years will be made. This work is being done under the direction of the Historic and Geographic Institute.

Publication of the "Geography of Brazil" prepared by the Geographic Society of Rio de Janeiro and of the "Diplomatic Records of Independence" compiled by the Minister of State for Foreign Relations.

XVIII. Ornamentation and illumination of the city of Rio de Janeiro, band concert in public parks, concerts and other popular celebrations.

The Government may at any time modify the features of this program, in accordance with the varying circumstances.

The International Congress of the History of America opened at Rio de Janeiro upon the date scheduled, namely, September 7. A Brazilian newspaper thus reports the composition of the several sections appointed to consider the papers presented to the Congress:

- Committee on the general history of America: Edwin Morgan, chairman; members, Professor Martinenche, Rafael Maria Arizaga, A. J. Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque, Sir John Tilley, General Cuervo Marques, Diego Carbonell, José Salgado, and Ricardo Levene.
- 10th Section.—Colombia: General Cuervo Marques, chairman; Max Grillo, Enrique Jorge, Pedro Gulanto, Gastão Ruch, Theodoro Braga, and Walter Hough.
- 11th Section.—Venezuela: Diego Carbonell, chairman; Augusto Lopes Gonçalves, Lauro Sodré, E. Ruiz Guíñazu', Charles Lyon Chandler, Maximo Soto Hall, and Lucas Boiteux.
- 12th Section.—Ecuador: Rafael Maria Arizaga, chairman; members, Ricardo G. Robelo, Herman James, Pedro Celso de Uchôa Cavalcanti, José Candido Guillobel, Mario Saenz, and Philadelpho de Azevedo.
- 13th Section.—Bolivia: A. J. Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque, chairman; members, José Arce, Herbert Harris, Lindolpho Pessôa, Enrique Cisneros, Guillermo García Diaz, and Emilio de Souza Docca.
- 18th Section.—Argentina: Ricardo Levene, chairman; members, Juan de Dios Robledo, Alfredo Coester, Alfredo Pinto Vieira de Mello, Alfredo Palacios, Augusto Olympio Viveiros de Castro, Herman Gomez, Martin Noel, Arthur Doughty, Miguel Pereyra, and Francisco V. Silva.
- 19th Section.—Uruguay: José Salgado, chairman; members, Carlos Trevieso, Mariano Vedia y Mitre, Rodrigo Octavio, Jesse Knight, R. C. Valente, senador Indio do Brasil, Enrique Loudet, and Arthur Pinto da Rocha.
- 24th Section.—Guiana Inglesa: Sir John Tilley, chairman; members, Oscar Shelton, Ernest M. Coll, Professor Debenedetti, Gustave Lactor, Percy A. Martin, Luis Frederico Cartenter, and Th. Pleyte.
- 26th Section.—Guiana Franceza: Professor Martinenche, chairman; members, Professor Le Gentil, Julius Klein, Henrique Santa Rosa, Nicanor Busto, N. Andrew N. Cleven, and Adrien Delpech.
- 15th Section.—History of Brazil. 1st sub-section. General History of Brazil: Manoel Cicero Peregrino da Silva, chairman; members, Jonathas Serrano, Solidonio Leite, Arthur Doughty, Domingos Barbosa, Francisco Agenor, Noronha Santos, and Alfredo Palacios.
- 2d Sub-Section.—History of Geographical Explorations: Gastão Ruch Sturzenocker chairman; members, Henrique Americo Santa Rosa, José Mattoso Maia Forte, Ricardo Robles, Rocha Lagôa (Filho), Lucas Boiteux, and Walter Hough.
- 3d Sub-Section.—History of Archeological and Ethnographical explorations: Edgard Roquette Pinto, chairman; members, Rodolpho Garcia, Nelson de Senna, Max Grillo, Olympio da Fonseca, Gentil de Assis Moura, and Professor Debenedetti.
- 4th Sub-Section.—Constitutional and Administrative History: Alfredo Valladão, chairman; members, Aurelino Leal, Carvalho Netto, C. Faller, José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, and Herbert Harris.
- 5th Sub-Section.—Parliamentary History: Augusto Tavares de Lyra, chairman; members, Augusto Tavares de Lyra, Manoel Tavares Cavalcanti, Abdias Neves, Pedro Dulante, Luciano Pereira da Silva, Hermenegildo de Moraes, and Enrique Jorge.

- 6th Sub-Section.—Economic History: Homero Baptista, chairman; members, Leopoldo de Bulhões, João Lyra Tavares, Professor Le Gentil, Antonio B. Ramalho Ortigão, Nuno Pinheiro, and Charles Lyon Chandler.
- 7th Sub-Section.—Military History: Antonio Coutinho Gomes Pereira, chairman; members. Raul Tavares, José Maria Moreira Guimarães, Enrique Cisneros, Liberato Bittencourt, Ernesto R. Gundasu, and Carlos da Silveira Carneiro.
- 8th Sub-Section.—Diplomatic History: Arthur Pinto da Rocha, chairman; members, Laudelino Freire, Mariano de Vedia y Mitre, Francisco de Avellar Figueira de Mello; N. Andrew N. Cleven, João Guimarães, and Heitor Lyra.
- 9th Sub-Section.—Literary History and History of the Arts: Eugenio Vilhena de Moraes, chairman; members, Adrien Delpech, Max Fleiuss, Albert Gertsch, Percy A. Martin, Eugenio Egas, Enrique Loudet, and Fernando Nery.

Dr. William Lytle Schurz, Commercial Attaché for the United States, at Rio de Janeiro, informs us that the Exposition Commission of the International Congress of American History announced in July that the following papers had already been submitted to the committee:

- Cabral's precursors from a geographical standpoint; discovery of Brazil. 1st and 2nd sub-section. Dr. Gastão Ruch.
- The French in Brazil. Antarctic France and Equinoxial France. 4th and 1st sub-section. Dr. Canna Brazil.
- The Great Market of African Slaves. Imported tribes. Their regional distribution. 8th and 3d sub-sections. Dr. Braz Amaral.
- Manifestation of the constitutional spirit in the Brazilian Kingdom in favor of Portuguese courts. Criticism of this manifestation by confronting Brazil's cause with Portugal's cause. 2d and 4th sub-section. Dr. Pedro Calmon.
- History of the Independence of America. The Independence of the United States and its Constitution guiding the ideals of the Minas Conspiracy. 1st and 4th sub-section. Dr. Pedro Calmon.
- The part played by José Bonifacio in our Independence. 9th and 1st sub-section. Dr. Pedro Calmon.
- Central Brazil. Travele and explorations. 7th and 2d sub-section. Dr. Benedicto Propheta.
- The opening of Brazilian ports to the commerce of the civilized world. 5th and 8th sub-section. Dr. José Teixeira de Barros.
- The right of trial. Judiciary organization. Dr. Alfredo Balthazar da Silveira.
- Pombal's policies with relation to Brazil. 6th and 1st sub-section. Dr. João Lucio de Azevedo.
- The History of plastic art in Brazil. 32d and 9th sub-section. Dr. Argeu Guimarães.
- A three in one regency. An account of Feijó. Dr. Eugenio Egas.
- Formation of Brazil's boundary lines. Almirante João Candido Guillobel.
- Determination of the known area of the North of Brazil up to the end of the XVII. century. Most important elements which contributed towards its exploration. J. B. Hafkemeyer, S. J.
- The 1824 draft for the Constitution. Predominating principles. Dr. Cesar do Rogo Monteiro.

- The War Fleet in the Paraguay War. Commandante Raul Tavares.
- Travelling naturalists of the XVIII. and XIX. centuries, and the progress made in native ethnography. Fossil deposits. Carlos Teschauer, S. J.
- Forerunners of the Independence and the contribution of the Army towards Brazil's autonomy. Dr. J. M. Moreira Guimarães.
- Foreign influence in our literature. Dr. Adriem Delpach.
- Principles of economics during the first century after the discovery. Methods for production and industries used by primitive inhabitants. The exchange of products. Dr. Rozo Lagoa.
- The Constitution Committee. The approved Constitution. Preponderating influence exercised over our Constitution by the American Constitution, and alterations made in the last mentioned. Influence which in turn was exercised by the Argentine Constitution. Senator Lopes Gonçalves.
- Administration during the Regency. Dr. Theodoro Magalhães.
- Literary societies during the colonial period. Dr. Max Fleuiss.
- Formation of the Brazilian Army and its evolution in the XIX. century. Captain Nilo Vaz.
- Discovery of Brazil. Spaniards and Portuguese. Dr. Solidonio Leite.
- Barroso, Tamandaré and Inhaúma. Commandante Didio Costa.
- History of the Paraguay river. Marechal Dr. Thaumaturgo do Azevedo.
- History of the Amazon river. Dr. Henrique Americo Santa Rosa.
- New flags and new patriots ("bandeirantes"). Dr. Alfredo Ellis, Jr.
- Paulistas (from São Paulo) of the XVI. and XVII. centuries. Dr. Alfredo Ellis, Jr.
- The History of the Press in Ecuador. Dr. Carlos A. Rolando.
- Monography of the French Guyana. Governor of the Guyana.
- History of General Guines and the revolution for Independence. Dr. Bernardo Frias.
- Forerunners of the Independence and the contribution of the Army towards Brazil's autonomy. Lieutenant Edmundo William Muniz Barreto.
- The Foundation of São Paulo. Dr. Affonso d'E. Taunay.
- The Dutch as explorers of the interior of Parahyba. Dr. J. Coriolano Medeiros.
- Juridical culture in Brazil. Dr. Clovis Bevilacqua.
- Biography of Almirante Brien. Henry da Sola.
- Biographical sketches of Almirante Luis Brien. J. M. Seixas Garcia.
- Igapitanga (or The mysteries of the Savage Alliance). Benedicto Propheta.

Among papers written for the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro by scholars of the United States were the following:

- Commercial Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1798-1812. By Charles Lyon Chandler.
- Commercial Relations between the United States and Brazil during the last Century. By Julius Klein.
- James Watson Webb, United States Minister to Brazil, 1861-1869. By N. Andrew N. Clevén.
- Minas Geraes and California: A Comparison of certain Phases of their historical and social Evolution. By Percy Alvin Martin.

The Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Brazilian Empire: A Comparison with the United States of America. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams.

Professor Herman James of the University of Texas also presented a paper, but the subject of it is not known as yet. It is expected that the papers above mentioned will appear in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

As its delegates to the International Congress of History held at Rio de Janeiro, the Republic of Uruguay appointed Dr. Carlos Travieso and Dr. José Salgado. These men were appointed by presidential decree.

Mrs. Charles Lyon Chandler represented the following organizations at the Pan American Child Welfare Congress held at Rio de Janeiro during the Brazilian Centenary Celebration: Juvenile Aid Society of Philadelphia; Jefferson Hospital of Philadelphia; Society to Protect Children from Cruelty of Philadelphia; White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia; Public Education and Child Labor Association of Philadelphia; Seybert Institution of Philadelphia; and National Council of Catholic Women. Mrs. Chandler is an A.B. of Radcliffe College and an A.M. of the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, in his course of lectures at Williams-town this past summer, gave addresses on two subjects of special interest to the United States: namely, Brazil's foreign policy with special reference to the neighboring Latin-American republics, and Brazil's foreign policy with special reference to her relations with the United States. In the course of the first, in which he touched on many important phases of South American history, he said: "Our understanding with the United States, which is rather a community feeling and interest, is more than anything else responsible for our international attitude". Later in the same address he said: "There are no vital interests in conflict, still less any questions of honor in opposition to each other, dividing the Latin-American countries. Boundary disputes in those immense territories without a corresponding population seem superfluous, if not ridiculous, except in certain circumstances which may lend a special meaning to the line to be adopted and act in a detrimental way to one of the states separated by that frontier. . . . The New World is so little ground for international discord to flourish that a scheme of antagonism to the United States—antago-

nism of political ideals rather than anything else, but coupled with an identity of local interests—that was started a few years ago under the name of A. B. C. because it was composed of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, failed and disappeared as a meteor from the international horizon. . . . We try in that end of the southern continent to be good friends, without getting into a stupid and useless animosity against the American Union, which will never have the opportunity of controlling our destinies, if only we show ourselves up to the task of managing them. Nobody can complain of his fate if he has himself contributed to make it inglorious and pitiful". In the second address mentioned above, Dr. Oliveira Lima mentions at some length the papers by Drs. Manning and Martin that have appeared in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. Of this *REVIEW* he says that it "has been lately in the United States the best vehicle of an intellectual character about Latin-America and consequently a factor of good understanding between both Americas". Salvador Mendonça, who represented Brazil so acceptably in the United States, for a number of years, was, Dr. Oliveira Lima said, "a friend of Secretary Blaine, who in matters of Pan-Americanism specially relied on him at the meeting of the first conference in Washington", and that "he was the foreigner—I can scarcely call Lord Bryce a foreigner—who best understood American character and American ways".

A course in Hispanic American History is making good progress at the Oregon Agricultural College, where are located the technical colleges of the state of Oregon. This work was begun in September, 1920, when Dr. William H. Ellison was invited to become a member of the faculty primarily to introduce such a course for the benefit of students in the College of Commerce. It was intended that a beginning should be made by giving the course for the first quarter only, but the interest has been so great that the course has been given during each quarter. The course combines lectures and reading. The students seem to be interested and the results are reported as fairly satisfactory.

At the University of Texas this year, Adjunct Professor Charles W. Hackett is giving three courses in Hispanic American History. History 46 is a three hour course, running throughout the entire year, on the history of South America. A survey is made of the colonial period and the colonial institutions with emphasis on the nineteenth century historical and institutional developments in the republics of South America. History 47 is likewise a full three hour course running throughout the

entire year on the history of Spanish North America and Mexico from 1492 until 1922. A survey is made of the expansion of Spanish dominion from Darien and Panamá northward to San Francisco and St. Louis and also of the Spanish colonial institutions; emphasis is on the historical evolution of Mexico since independence and on the political developments in central America and the West Indies. A prerequisite for both courses is two courses in history. History 36 is a graduate seminar in the history of Hispanic America. Because of the exceptional collections of materials in the García Library and because of the large collection of transcripts from Mexican and Spanish archives, emphasis in this course generally will be on Spanish North America. This year the general subject is The Spanish Southwest in the eighteenth century.

El Correo de Andalusia of Seville, for September 10, 1922, notes that Miss Irene A. Wright, who has sent to the REVIEW the documents given above, has been declared the winner of the contest inaugurated in Habana, Cuba, under the auspices of the Academy of History of that city. The award was for the best documented history of Habana, and the contest was inaugurated as part of the celebration of the centenary of the removal of Habana from the South to the North Coast. The condition called for a documented history of Habana in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Miss Wright confined her work to the sixteenth century alone, which is accompanied with 180 documents. The essay is divided into three principal parts, namely: La Fortaleza Vieja, ending with 1550; La Fuerza, bringing the story through to the period of French influence; and La Punta-El Morro dealing with the period of English influence at the end of the sixteenth century. The documents are from the Archivo de Indias, Seville. The work will be published by the Academy of History of Habana. A cash price accompanies the award.

Professor W. W. Pierson, Jr., is giving his Hispanic American history in three courses: namely, the colonial period; Hispanic-South American history; and Hispanic-North American history. The last two are given in alternate years. Professor Pierson hopes soon to inaugurate a graduate course in the history of Argentina.

The Mexican government, through the National University of Mexico, offered a number of research professorships to historical teachers in educational institutions in the United States during the summer just

past. Two of these were offered to the University of Texas, and appointments were accordingly made of Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the historical department, and Dr. A. C. Ellis, professor of the Philosophy of Education. In offering the professorships the National University of Mexico said: "There is no teaching demanded, for we want the archives and other educational opportunities of Mexico known to the students of American universities through the professors". During the six weeks spent in the City of Mexico Dr. Hackett carried on research work in the National Archives, selecting documents relating especially to the early Spanish and Mexican régimes in Texas. These documents were then copied and revised thoroughly by men trained by Dr. Hackett in such work during the last two years. Dr. Hackett has added some 8000 sheets of manuscript to the rich collection of the University of Texas during the last two years by this method. Dr. Ellis studied the Mexican system of education. The Mexican government set aside a certain sum as honorarium for appointees as well as for traveling expenses. The interchange of intellectual thought that must result through this action will be very far-reaching. Mexico should be commended highly for its initiative in establishing such research professorships, which, while they enrich the scholarship of the United States, will also promote international good will.

La Biblioteca "América", of Buenos Aires, has sent out a cry for greater support. The library, which desires to collect as extensive a collection of Americana as possible, as well as to publish a bibliographical bulletin, desires to enroll as many annual paid subscribers as are willing to aid it by the payment of five pesos yearly for regular membership and 25 pesos annually for sustaining membership. This seems a very worthy purpose and it is hoped that many people from North America will aid in this good work. Money may be sent in charge of the Comisión Protectora, Suipacha, 237, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

El Eco de Galicia, which is published in Buenos Aires, by Sr. D. Manuel de Castro y López, in its issue for August 20, 1922, contains an item entitled "América hispana o ibera, no latina". This item calls attention to a letter of the Spanish minister to Rumania, the Duque de Amalfi—a member of the Unión Ibero Americana—to the Rumanian Geographical Society. In his letter the minister points out the impropriety of the name "Latin America", and expresses the hope that the Rumanian Geographical Society will make use of the more correct terminology.

CHILEAN LITERATURE; A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERARY CRITICISM, BIOGRAPHY, AND LITERARY CONTROVERSY

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936. ——— Fernando López Loayza, *Pro-Patria*. Aug. 14, 1909.
937. ——— José María Cifuentes, *En broma y en serio*. Apr. 17, 1911.
938. ——— Juvenal Guerra, *Flores de Quisco*. June 19, 1911.
939. ——— Ramón Subercaseaux, *El genio de Roma*. Aug. 7, 1911.
940. ——— F. Contreras, *Tierra de reliquias (España)*. Apr. 8, 1912.
941. ——— Leonor Urzúa Cruzat, *Flores incultas*. June 10, 1912.
942. ——— Alfonso Bolton Grez, *Nosotros*. Sept. 30, 1912.
943. ——— Pedro Prado, *La casa abandonada. Parábolas y pequeños ensayos*.
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944. ——— Lucía de Campo de Barceló, *Memorias primaverales*. Aug. 28,
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946. ——— J. Valdés Canje [Pseudonym of Alejandro Venegas, vice-Rector
of the Talca Liceo (1910)], *Chile íntimo en 1910*. Feb. 6, 1911.
947. ——— Juvenal Guerra, *Verdad (Réplica á Sinceridad por Julio Valdés
Canje)*. July 24, 1911.
948. ——— G. Monglas, *El Arzobispo de Grenada (Reoglones que fallaron á
Gil Blas de Santillana)*. June 17, 1912.
"El aludido es el Ilmo. Obispo de la Serena, D. Ramón Ánjel Jara".
[Vaisse].
949. ——— Paul Rosier, *En Jauja (República Sud-Americana)*. Oct. 9, 1916.

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950. ——— Antonio Bórquez Solar, *Dilectos decires*. Jan. 29, 1911.
951. ——— Bernabé F. Anguita, *Lejanías. Segunda parte*. Feb. 19, 1912.
952. ——— Manuel Blanco Cuartín, *Artículos escogidos. Con una introduc-
ción de don Juan Larratn*. Mar. 23, 1914.
953. ——— Manuel J. Ortiz, *Caricaturas. Artículos de costumbres chilenas*.
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954. ——— Carlos Sudy, *Páginas cortas*. July 24, 1916.

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955. ——— Un año de literatura nacional. Jan. 1, 1911.
 956. ——— El año literario. Breve síntesis de 1911. Jan. 1, 1912.
 957. ——— Bibliografía anual. El año literario. Dec. 25, 1912.
 958. ——— El año literario de 1913. Jan. 1, 1914.
 959. ——— El año literario de 1914. Jan. 1, 1915.
 960. ——— El año literario. I. La Academia Chilena. II. Juegos florales y certámenes. III. La actividad literaria. Jan. 1, 1916.
 961. ——— El año literario. Sumario. Introducción, La Academia Chilena. I. Estudio del idioma. II. Crítica é historia literaria. III. Los versos. IV. Novelas y cuentos. V. La historia. VI. Conclusión. Jan. 1, 1917.
 962. ——— El año literario. Jan. 1, 1918.

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963. ——— "Iris" (Inés Echeverría de Larraín), Crítica dramática en *Emociones teatrales*. Mar. 27, 1911.
 964. ——— Antonio Bórquez Solar, *La epopeya de Chile. La Araucana de Ercilla*. July 10, 1911, and *Rev. Chil. de H. y G.*, I. No. 3.
 965. ——— Félix Nieto del Río, *Crónicas literarias. Con prólogo de don Paulino Alfonso*. Sept. 2, 1912.
 966. ——— Armando Donoso, *Menéndez Pelayo y su obra*. Jan. 27, 1913.
 967. ——— Rodolfo Polanco Casanova, *Ojeada crítica sobre la poesía en Chile (1840-1912)*. Aug. 18, 1913.
 968. ——— Armando Donoso, *Los nuevos. La joven literatura chilena*. Nov. 10, 1913.
 969. ——— César Silva, *Don Juan Valera. Trabajo premiado por el Consejo de Letras y Bellas Artes*. May 4, 1914.
 970. ——— Armando Donoso, *Lemaître, crítico literario*. Nov. 16, 1914.
 971. ——— Alejandro Baeza ("Fray Apenta"), *Repiques. Primera serie*. Aug. 14, 1916.
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 973. ——— Armando Donoso, *La sombra de Goethe*. Dec. 25, 1916.
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Also published in Valderama, *Obras escogidas . . . Colección hecha por don Enrique Nercasseau y Morán y precedida de una biografía del autor*. [Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile, Vol. VIII.] Santiago, Imp. Barcelona, Año 1912. 8°. XVII + 544 p.

"Hasta hoy es la obra de mayor importancia que se ha dado á luz sobre la producción literaria nacional, y aunque fué compuesta hace cerca de medio siglo, no ha perdido en nada su oportunidad. La parte relativa al período colonial, sobre todo, tendrá que ser tomado siempre en consideración por quienquiera que se consagre á estudiar la historia de nuestra literatura." E. Nercasseau y Morán, Introduction, p. VIII.

"El *Bosquejo* . . . , que Valderrama presentó . . . encierra una labor de considerable mérito, no sólo por sus acertadas críticas, sino también por su prolijas investigaciones. Algunas de los capítulos de este libro, el cual ya cuenta medio siglo de edad, pueden consultarse hoy mismo con provecho. Las páginas que . . . dedica a la poesía del pueblo ofrecen datos interesantísimos." D. Amunátegui Solar, *Bosquejo histórico de la literatura . . .*, p. 386.

1037. ——— Las letras. Disertación. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1887, 815ff.

1038. Valderrama Pérez, Alfredo. *Album político. El Gobierno, el Parlamento y el Consejo de Estado en la República de Chile (1912-1915)*. Editor propietario: Alfredo Valderrama Pérez. Santiago de Chile. Empresa Zig-Zag. 1914. 8°. 430 p.

Gonzalo Bulnes, Guillermo M. Bafiados H., and Agustín Gómez García figure in the list.

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1045. Vásquez Guarda, Efraín. *Monografías: Balmaceda—Zañartu—Villar—Soffia*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Lit. y Enc. Esmeralda, 1903. 8°. 27 p.

Eulogies with few precise facts.

1046. Velasco, Fanor ("René Valbert"). *Diccionario biográfico moderno*. Santiago, Imp. Cervantes, 1886. 8°. 115 p.

Fragmentary biographies of men from all countries.

1047. Venturino S., Pascual. *Barros Arana, sacerdote y héroe continental*. Santiago, Imp. Antigua Inglesa, 1915. 16°. 48 p.

Lavish in praise and rather deficient in concrete facts.

1048. ———. Prólogo biográfico y crítico de Ernesto Sanguino Sánchez, *Por el sendero de la vida*. Santiago, Imp. Antigua Iglesia, 1915. 16°. 121 p. [*Rev. de Bibl.*]

1049. Vera, Robustiano. *Aurora poética. Ensayos críticos de algunos jóvenes chilenos*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional, Junio de 1863. 4°. 118 p.

A rare book, a copy of which is in the possession of Ramón Laval.

"Algunas observaciones sobre lo que debe ser nuestra poesía en adelante", p. 9-17.

A characterization of a few authors follows, with brief quotations from their works. Those included are Carlos Walker M., Emilio Bello, Manuel Concha Ramos, J. A. Soffia, Enrique del Solar, Ricardo Cruzat, Pedro Lira, Benigno Pinto, Juan Castellón, José María Alvear, Joaquín Santa Cruz, Ezequiel Silva, and Eduardo Videla.

This book gave rise to the volume, also rare, entitled *Suplemento a la Aurora Poética de Don Robustiano Vera, o sea apología de los ingenios que aquel autor se dejó en el tintero por nueve o diez de sus admiradores*. Santiago de Chile, Imp. Chilena, 1863. 4°. 72 p. This compilation pokes fun at a number of obscure writers, counting Vera among them.

1050. Vergara Antúñez, Rodolfo. *El guerrero cristiano*, por José Hipólito Salas. *Anal. de la Univ.*, LVII. 1880, 541-3.

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Pub. in *Anal. de la Univ.*, LXVIII. 1885, 405-1185.

"El tomo segundo apareció por la misma imprenta i solo se tiraron los pliegos 1 a 32, 258 pájs. La edición de estos pliegos desapareció por los acontecimientos de la Revolución de 1891 i los originales en el incendio de la Unión Central en 1891." Anrique i Silva, *Ensayo* . . .

1052. Vergara Silva, Juan de Dios. *Prometeo encadenado*. Tragedia griega traducida . . . por Juan R. Salas E. *Rev. de A. y L.*, XV. 447-61.

1053. Veritas. *Folleto de Actualidad. Don Vicente Reyes. Su pasado i su presente. Candidato a la presidencia de la República . . .* Santiago, Imp. i Enc. Chilena, 1896. Pamphlet of 19 p. With portrait.

Naturally rather eulogistic in tone, but containing a fair amount of biographical detail.

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1055. ———. Miguel Luis Amunátegui. *Ibid.*, XI. 441-52.

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Dealing with the literary production of J. Díaz Garcés.

1059. ——— Composiciones chilenas en prosa. Discurso de incorporación a la Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades. *Anal. de la Univ.*, CXLIV. 73-104.

1060. Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín. J. Ignacio Molina. *Anal. de la Univ.*, 1860, 600ff.

Anrique i Silva cite *Rasgos biográficos del abate Juan Ignacio Molina, primer historiador de Chile*. Santiago, Imp. del Ferrocarril, 4°. 8 p. Double columns.

1061. ——— Biographies of the contributors to the *Historia Jeneral de la República de Chile desde la Independencia hasta nuestros días* . . . Santiago de Chile, Imp. Nacional and Imp. Cervantes, 1866-1882. 5 vols in 4°.

Vol. I. Prolog and introduction by Vicuña Mackenna, XXVI + 477 p.

"J. V. Lastarria", p. 3-6.

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"Capítulo III ['La Sociedad de la Igualdad', p. 65-87] constituye en su mayor parte un retrato de Bilbao del más vivo colorido i de gran exactitud." Barros Arana, *Un decenio de la historia de Chile*, I. p. 496, note.

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That about A. Blest Gana gives a brief appreciation of his works and some facts about his life.

M. Blanco Cuartín, Z. Rodríguez and the Amunátegui brothers are characterized and a few biographical details given.

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A summary of Chilean literature from the Conquest to the date of composition. The early periods are briefly summarized and pages 19ff. deal with the nineteenth century.

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A brief summary of the intellectual development of women in Chile from Colonial times to date; and an account of their present activity in professional work, schools and clubs.

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(Names of institutions, books and periodicals are printed in *Italics*; pseudonyms are indicated by quotation marks.)

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STURGIS E. LEAVITT,

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GEORGE EPHRAIM SQUIER

(*Notas bio-bibliográficas*)

Squier: Sólo yo sé cuánto le debe Honduras a Ud. Que seamos pobres, pero agradecidos; por esto le recomiendo a todo el pueblo de Honduras.—LEÓN ALVARADO.

Este es el primer centenario del nacimiento de un viajero prócer que amó de verdad a Centro América y cuya figura hace días debiera estar en el mármol. George Ephraim Squier es ya inolvidable en nuestra agradecida evocación.

En junio de 1821 nació Squier en Bethlehem, del condado neoyorkino de Albany, siendo hijo de un ministro metodista y nieto de un soldado de la Revolución Americana: un Samuel, amigo y auditor de Cronwell, y un Ephraim, el segundo de Knowlton en Bunker Hill y que acompañó a Benedict Arnold a través de los bosques, desde Maine a Quebec, sobresalen en la ilustre casa de los Squier. Se crió en una casa de campo, enseñó en una escuela de invierno, estudió ingeniería civil, trabajó en un periódico local: tales son las primeras noticias de su vida. De 1841 a 42 figuraba en la redacción de *The New York State Mechanic* y a poco en *The Poet's Magazine*; al año siguiente en el *Hartford Journal*, y entró a la política al lado de los *whigs*; el 45 dirigía la *Scioto Gazette*, en Chillicothe, Ohio, y el 47 el diario del Congreso del mismo Estado. Con el Dr. Davis examinó los restos de los *mound-builders*, escribiendo un volumen que apareció en las publicaciones del Instituto Smithsonian (1848.) Al año siguiente, la Sociedad Histórica de Nueva York le publicó *Aboriginal Monuments* y ya por entonces cultivaba relaciones con Albert Gallatin y se carteaba con Humboldt y Jomard. El Presidente Tyler había enviado a Irving de Ministro a España, y al calor de aquel entusiasmo que llevaba a la diplomacia a los hombres de letras, Squier fue designado Encargado de Negocios en Centro América (1849) previas las gestiones de Gallatin, John L. Stephens, Prescott el historiador y Sparks el que compiló el epistolario de Washington. Conozco la carta de su amigo Francis Parkman, en que éste le auguraba un feliz viaje a la tierra del "vómito" y de los "lagartos". Su actuación diplomática duró hasta septiembre de 1850;

pero en 1853 volvió a Centro América para hacer el trazo del ferrocarril interoceánico de Honduras, de cuya Compañía era Secretario.

El ilustre autor de tanta interesante tradición americana, como las de los algonquins y de páginas tan amenas como las que esbozó acerca de los buscadores de oro en California en el siglo XVI, era, en el zenit de su existencia, la más respetable autoridad sobre asuntos de Centro América, tanto del pasado como de lo contemporáneo, pues tuvo que vérselas con Chatfield en las dificultades que el terrible cónsul inglés promoviera en aquellos países. La Sociedad Geográfica de Francia le confirió medalla de oro en 1856. Como Comisionado de los Estados Unidos estuvo en el Perú de 1862 a 65, visitándolo, explorándolo, escribiendo siempre. De 1861 a 62 dirigió *Leslie's Weekly*, la revista de su esposa, una mujer de fina inteligencia y de gran mundo. En 1868 era Cónsul de Honduras en New York y en 1871 primer Presidente del Instituto Antropológico de la misma ciudad. Murió en Brooklyn en 1888.

No dispongo de tiempo suficiente para reseñar la labor centro-americanista de Squier diplomático, del amigo de Cabañas y los liberales de su tiempo, y sobre todo del grande y buen amigo de Honduras. Me conformo por ahora con reseñar cronológicamente, y en español, las obras y monografías que integran lo excelente de su labor.

LIBROS Y FOLLETOS

1850

Los Volcanes de Centro América y los Rasgos Geográficos y Topográficos de Nicaragua en relación con el proyecto del Canal Interoceánico. Es la sinopsis de su conferencia en la American Association, de New Haven. En 1852 Appleton, de New York, publicó este estudio con muchos mapas e ilustraciones.

E. George Squier, Nicaragua y Henry Lytton Bulwer. Fué impreso en Granada, Nicaragua, y se hizo una segunda edición en 1851, en León.

Carta al Hon. H. S. Foote, Presidente del Comité de Relaciones Exteriores del Senado de los Estados Unidos sobre el Tratado de Nicaragua. Publicado en castellano en la Gaceta del Salvador, 24 y 31 de enero, 1851.

1851

El Símbolo de la Serpiente y la Adoración de los Principios Recíprocos de la Naturaleza en América. La primera edición es la de Nueva York, y la segunda, la traducida al español por el Lic. don José de J. Q. García, fué publicada en la Habana en 1855. En este libro diserta sobre el culto fálico de Centro América y el Perú, llamando la atención sobre un probable asomo del culto en los monolitos de Copán. Luego estudia la adoración de los

principios recíprocos en México y Nicaragua, los templos budistas en Centro América, los atributos de Dios y sus símbolos en Nicaragua (Theotbilabe) y Guatemala (Votán), el símbolo de la Serpiente en los templos centro-americanos, las esculturas de la misma en México y Centro América y los calpules de los Estados Unidos, la iconografía de la Serpiente en las antiguas pinturas nicaragüenses y la probable representación de la Serpiente y el Huevo en Copán.

1862

Viajes en Centro América, particularmente en Nicaragua; con una descripción de sus monumentos aborígenes, paisajes y habitantes, sus lenguas, instituciones, religiones, etc. La primer edición fue hecha en Londres y la segunda en Nueva York, en 1853. La edición que Harper hizo en Nueva York en 1860 lleva 100 mapas originales y numerosas ilustraciones, pero la primera fue la que despertó la alabanza de la crítica en ambos hemisferios. Decía *Fraser's Magazine* de Londres (vol. 45, p. 475). que Squier era un buen observador de la naturaleza y un arqueólogo, y que recomendaba al lector pasar por alto sus comentarios políticos y deleitarse con las descripciones—Varios conceptos de la obra fueron refutados por *The Edinburgh Review* (vol. 45, p. 553); la *Bentley's Miscellany*, de Londres (vol. 31, p. 442), en un interesante comentario aludía a “sus ideas peculiares y su estilo bombástico” y *The Christian Examiner*, de Boston (vol. 52, p. 253), aunque consideraba que su autoridad era de peso, poseía un estilo casi siempre elegante, que podía tolerarse en un libro con pretensiones de definitivo. Años después (1857, vol 43, p. 359) *The Dublin Review*, hablando del observador meticoloso y narrador interesante, decía que aunque sus visiones de anexión le enturbiaban el criterio no por eso dejaba de formarse un juicio claro acerca de los hombres los acontecimientos que había presenciado.

Nicaragua sus Habitantes, Vistas, Monumento y el Canal Interoceánico proyectado. Con varios mapas originales y grabados. Se publicó en Nueva York por la casa de Appleton en dos tomos.

Centro América y el Proyecto Crampton-Webster. Fué publicado en Nueva York.

1864

Honduras y Guatemala. Una carta escrita a los redactores del *National Intelligencer*, y publicada en Nueva York. 14 pág. en 8vo.

El Ferrocarril Interoceánico de Honduras—Se publicó en Nueva York en 1854 y al año siguiente, en inglés y francés, en la misma ciudad, por la Oficina de la Compañía del Ferrocarril. Dicho informe preliminar fué editado con mapas en 1855, en París y Nueva York; el 56, Charles Whittingham editó en Londres el informe suplementario; y el 57 se reimprimió en Nueva York, con el del almirante Fitzroy y un apéndice en que se incluyeron los tratados de Charter. En 1858 rindió otro informe a los Directores de la Compañía, que fué impreso en Londres.

Apuntamientos sobre los Estados de Honduras y San (sic) Salvador en Centro América. Fué reimpresso del Bulletin de la Société de Géographie en francés, en París, por la casa de L. Martinet. 36 pág. en 8vo. Tiene un mapa.

Waikna o Aventuras en la Costa de los Mosquitos. Publicada con su seudónimo "Samuel A. Bard". La primera edición, que llevaba simplemente el título de "Waikna", hecha por Harper & Brothers, de Nueva York, presentaba en el apéndice un bosquejo histórico de aquel litoral y un vocabulario del lenguaje de los nativos. En 1856 James Blackwood & Sampson, Low & Son, de Londres, hicieron respectivamente dos ediciones. Hay otra hecha en Chicago en 1888; otra en Nueva York por Worthington Co., 1891, y varias traducciones publicadas en alemán y francés. "Los relatos sobre pescas, combates con los negros, las dos semanas durmiendo la siesta bajo la lluvia, las yagancias de ensueño por la orilla de los ríos y los esteros, han dado a este libro una belleza y frescura encantadora; en él describe la naturaleza con la perspicuidad del artista y a los hombres con la seguridad de su ingenio, a más de presentar a los lectores una clara reseña de las maravillas de la flora y de la vida animal. Pudiera decirse que es un idilio salvaje animado por el soplo dramático y la corriente escondida del buen humor." (*Putnam's*, septiembre, 1855, p. 326.)

Apuntamientos sobre Centro América, particularmente, sobre los Estados de Honduras y San (sic) Salvador: su geografía, topografía, clima, poblaciones, riqueza, producciones, etc. etc., y el proyectado camino de hierro de Honduras. Fué Harper & Brothers, de Nueva York, la primera casa editora, haciéndose el mismo año una edición francesa de L. Martinet, de París, tomando en extracto lo publicado por el Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía. Al año siguiente se hizo igual edición en Londres y otra en París, por Gustavo Gratiot, que fué la versión española de don León Alvarado, quien simplemente firmó "Un hondureño", agregándole el vocabulario que no aparece en el original: una opinión de Alvarado aparece con el nombre de "La obra de Mr. Squier", en "Honduras Literaria" de Rómulo E. Durón, 1896, Tomo I, p. 203-5. Harper hizo una edición aumentada y copiosa en 1858, que se llamó "Los Estados de Centro América", pero incluyendo noticias amplias sobre cada uno de ellos, así como sobre Belice, las Islas de la Bahía y la Costa de los Mosquitos. La traducción alemana, hecha por Karl Theodore Andree, se publicó en Leipzig por Carl B. Forek, en 1856, y en la misma ciudad por C. Senf, en 1865.

La Cuestión Anglo-Americana: Documentos Oficiales cruzados entre los Estados Unidos e Inglaterra sobre la América Central y el Tratado Clayton-Bulwer. La edición fué a cargo de Stasson et Xavier, de París.

1856

Compendio de Historia Política en Centro América. Hizo la traducción don León Alvarado, siendo editor G. Gratiot, de París.

Información acerca de las Minas de Carbón del Río Lempa, República de San Salvador, Centro América (London), 16 pp.

1850

Colección de Documentos Raros y Originales y Relaciones acerca del Descubrimiento y Conquista de América. Publicadas en su original, con traducciones, notas ilustradas, mapas y noticias biográficas. No. I. Carta dirigidas al Rey de España por el Licenciado Dr. don Diego García de Palacio.

1576. De esta traducción, hecha por Squier, sólo se editaron 100 ejemplares, teniendo a su cargo la edición C. B. Norton, de Nueva York.

Nicaragua: Su Pueblo, Paisaje, Monumentos, Recursos Naturales, Condiciones y el Canal proyectado; con cien mapas originales e ilustraciones.—Edición revisada, New York, Harper & Brothers, (contiene 1 mapa y 4 grabados) 691 pp.

Las Fibras Tropicales: su Producción y Extracción Económica. Con 16 grabados fué publicada por Scribner & Co. de Nueva York, existiendo también una edición que se hizo por orden del Gobierno inglés. Entre otros tópicos trata el de la industria de la "cabulla", la malva, el mata-palo y la piña en Centro América.

Monografía sobre Autores que han Escrito acerca de Lenguas en Centro América, y recogido Vocabularios o compuesto Obras en los Dialectos Aborígenes en aquel País. Hay dos ediciones, la de J. Munsell, Albany, y la de Trübner & Co., de Londres.

1869

Observaciones Acerca del Chalchihuitl de México y Centro América, Nueva York.

1870

Honduras: Descripción Histórica, Geográfica y Estadística de esta República de la América Central. Trubner & Co., de Londres, y Holt & Williams, de Nueva York, fueron los editores. La obra fue revisada por don Carlos Gutiérrez, diplomático hondureño; y en 1908 Juan María Cuéllar, en la Tipografía Nacional de Tegucigalpa, arregló y dió a la estampa la primera versión española.

1880

Honduras y Honduras Británica. Este libro, en que aparecen muchos de los datos presentados en el anterior, fué impreso por Scribner's and Sons, de Nueva York.

He aquí ahora la noticia de sus principales artículos y monografías esparcidas en revistas:

1849

La Cuestión del Canal. American Review.

Comunicación del Ministro de los EE. UU. Mr. E. G. Squier al Ministro de Relaciones de Costa Rica sobre la política americana en el Continente y la intervención de Europa en el mismo. (León, 1 octubre 1849.) Gaceta del Salvador, 9 noviembre.

Contestación del Ministro de los EE. UU. a la comunicación del decreto del Gobierno de Nicaragua sobre la política da Centro América ante el peligro de intervenciones extrañas. (León, 20 octubre 1849.) Gaceta del Salvador, 16 noviembre.

1850

Intrusiones y Agresiones inglesas en Centro América. La Cuestión Mosquita. American Review.

La Isla del Tigre y Centro América. Estas notas del plenipotenciario Squier en Nicaragua, sobre la toma de la isla del Tigre por los ingleses y su medida del Río San Juan, aparecen en el Mensaje del Presidente de los Estados Unidos enviando documentos para replicar al Congreso una resolución sobre dicha isla.

Revista de la "Cuestión Mosquita" y el Asunto del Canal. *American Review*. Estos artículos también aparecieron en la *Whig Review*.

La isla de Pensacola (Nicaragua) *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, París, vol. XIII, p. 235.

Un Templo Antiguo sobre la Isla de Zapatero (Nicaragua). *Id., id.*, p. 359.

Antigüedades de América Central. Extracto de una carta a Mr. Jomard (León, Nicaragua, 5 de febrero). *Id., id.* tomos XIII y XIV, p. 232 y 139.

Descubrimiento de Monumentos Antiguos en las Islas del Lago de Nicaragua. Este trabajo fué leído en la sesión del 2 de marzo de la Sociedad Etnológica de los Estados Unidos y publicada en el Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía de París. Es la traducción que E. F. hizo de lo que Squier publicó en el "Literary World", de New York, del 9 al 30 de marzo.

1851

Memoria sobre la Colonización prehistórica europea de América. London. *Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society*.

1852

Nota sobre una Vista en Colores, en forma de Panorama, del Canal proyectado por la Unión de los Océanos Atlántico y Pacífico. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, t. III, p. 85.

Mr. Squier y Nicaragua. *Bentley's Miscellany*, London, XXXI. 442-52.

1853

Raymon, Xavier. La Competencia entre Inglaterra y los Estados Unidos. Los Ingleses y los Americanos en México y en América Central. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, París, XCIV. 298-333.

Apuntamientos sobre la Arqueología y la Etnología de Nicaragua. *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, III. (III.^a parte), 1853.

Las Ruinas de Tenampúa, Honduras, Centro América.—*Proceedings of the Historical Society of New York*.

1854

San Juan de Nicaragua. *Harper's Magazine*, New York, vol. X.

Arqueología y Etnología de Nicaragua. *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*.

1855

Nicaragua: Una Exploración de Océano a Océano. *Harper's Magazine*, vol. XI. Carta de Mr. Squier a propósito de la carta de M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, publicada en los Anales de agosto—*Nouvelles Annales de Voyages*, París, vol. 148, p. 273. Fué dirigida a Mr. Alfred Maury, en París; y en la postdata le dice que acaba de recibir de Rabinal (Vera-Paz) una carta del abate, en que le rectifica sobre el probable origen europeo de los indios de Guatemala. El mismo año la carta fué publicada por A. Bertrand, de París.

1856

Los Indios Guatusos de Nicaragua. *Nouvelles Annales de Voyages*, París, vol. 151, p. 5. Este artículo fué traducido del inglés por M. O. Saxhot y publicado en el *Atheneum Français* de diciembre del año anterior.

1857

Sobre Centro América y el Proyecto de Ferrocarril Interoceánico de Honduras. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Londres, vol. V, p. 143. Contiene noticias históricas, notas sobre los puertos de Honduras, el valle del Humuya y el comercio del Pacífico, y aparece un mapa de la vía en proyecto. Una traducción de este artículo, tomada de la obra "Honduras" apareció en la revista *Centro América*, Guatemala, 1921, vol. IV, p. 129-41.

1858

Los Indios Jicaques de Honduras. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, París, vol. 170, p. 133. Contiene un vocabulario de dicho idioma.

1859

Los Volcanes de Centro América—Harper's, Nueva York, vol. XIX, p. 739.
Una Visita a los Indios Guajiquiros—Harper's New Monthly Magazine, octubre, vol. XIX.

1860

Algunas notas sobre el Lago de Yojoa o Taulabé, Honduras, Centro-América. *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Londres, vol. XIII, p. 6. 863. Esta monografía fué leída en la sesión del 10 de enero del año anterior y apareció también en el "Journal of the American Geographical Statistical Society", de New York, págs. 19-24.

Reminiscencias de Centro-América. Aspecto del País, Suelo, Producciones, Climas, Habitantes, Prospecto Político, etc. etc. De Bow's Review, Nueva Orleans, La., octubre, p. 410. Trata especialmente de Nicaragua y dice algo sobre Walker.

Buscando un Paso. Boceto de una aventura en el trópico.—*Atlantic Monthly*, vols. V y VI.

Las Regiones desconocidas de Centro-América—Putnam's Magazine, Nueva York, N. S. II, vol. 12, p. 549.

1871

Introducción y notas a la traducción de "Viajes en Centro-América", por A. Morelet. La edición de este libro la hizo Leypoldt, Holt & Williams, Nueva York.

1881

Honduras.—En la "Encyclopedia Britannica", novena edición, vol. XII, pgs. 129-32, aparece este interesante capítulo, encomendado a Squier.

Quien desee amplias noticias bibliográficas sobre el resto de la obra de Squier, pues solamente he apuntado lo que se relaciona con Centro-América, debe leer el apéndice que Don C. Seitz puso a *Letters from Francis Parkman to E. G. Squier*, edición de Cedar Rapids, Iowa, por The Torch Press, 1911. Bancroft trae una nota en sus "Obras" vol.

VIII, p. 261-3. La biblioteca de Squier fue vendida en pública subasta en Nueva York, en abril de 1876 y ese año Joseph Sabin editó el catálogo. Aparece en éste un M.S. intitulado "Arte de Lengua Quiché o Utlateca, compuesto por E.M.R.P. Fray Bartolomé Auteo (sic) Religioso Menor de N. S. P. San Francisco con un ensayo sobre los Quichés por Mr. Squier." Un manuscrito existe en la biblioteca del Free Museum of Science and Art de la Universidad de Pensilvania, que liene por titulo Vocabularios "Lenca" de los pueblos de Guajiquero, Opatoro, Intibucat, y Simalaton (Honduras). 11 páginas.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

México, 1921.

[TRANSLATION]

GEORGE EPHRAIM SQUIER

(*Bio-bibliographical notes*)

Squier: I alone know how much Honduras owes to you. Though we may be poor, yet we are grateful. Therefore, I recommend you to all the people of Honduras.—LEÓN ALVARADO.

This is the first centenary of the birth of a great traveler who truly loved Central America, and whose features should long ago have been cut in marble. George Ephraim Squier is, indeed, not to be forgotten in our grateful invocation.

In June, 1821, Squier was born in Bethlehem, Albany County, New York. He was the son of a Methodist minister and the grandson of a soldier of the American Revolution. One Samuel, the friend and auditor of Cromwell, and one Ephraim, the second of the above, of Knowlton on Bunker Hill, and who accompanied Benedict Arnold through the woods from Maine to Quebec stand forth especially in the illustrious house of the Squiers. He was reared in a house in the country, taught in a winter school, studied civil engineering, and worked on a local paper; such are the earliest notices of his life. During 1841 and 1842, he was attached to the editorial staff of *The New York State Mechanic*, and for a little while to that of *The Poet's Magazine*, and the following year to that of the *Hartford Journal*. He entered politics on the side of the whigs. In 1845, he managed the *Scioto Gazette*, of Chillicothe, Ohio, and in 1847, the daily journal of the legislature of the same state. Together with Dr. Davis, he examined the remains of the mound builders, and wrote a volume which appeared in the publications of the Smithsonian Institution (1848). The following year, the Historical Society

of New York published his *Aboriginal Monuments*; while already he was cultivating relations with Albert Gallatin and corresponding with Humboldt and Jomard. President Tyler had sent Irving as minister to Spain, and due to the warmth of that enthusiasm which brought diplomacy to men of letters, Squier was designated as commercial attaché to Central America (1849), through the efforts of Gallatin, John L. Stephens, Prescott the historian, and Sparks who compiled the correspondence of Washington. I am aware of the letter of his friend, Francis Parkman, in which the latter wished him a happy voyage to the land of "yellow fever" and of "lizards." His diplomatic activity lasted until September, 1850, but in 1853, he returned to Central America, in order to plan the interoceanic railway of Honduras, of which company he was secretary.

The illustrious author of so much interesting American tradition, as are those of the Algonquins, and of pages so pleasant as those which he sketched about the goldseekers of California in the sixteenth century, was in the prime of his life, the most considerable authority on Central American affairs, both past and contemporary, for he had to do with Chatfield in the difficulties which that terrible English consul aroused in those countries. The Geographical Society of France conferred a gold medal on him in 1856. He was in Peru from 1862 to 1865 as a commissioner from the United States, always visiting, exploring, and writing. During 1861 and 1862, he managed *Leslie's Weekly*, the review that belonged to his wife, a woman of fine intelligence and of the elite. In 1868, he was consul for Honduras in New York, and in 1871, the first president of the Anthropological Institute of the same city. He died in Brooklyn in 1888.

I have not sufficient time to review the Central American labor of Squier the diplomat, of the friend of Cabañas and the liberals of his time, and especially of that great and good friend of Honduras. I limit myself for the present to review chronologically and in Spanish the works and monographs which make up the excellency of his work.

[The following list consists of the proper titles in English or French of the works above cited in Spanish. This is not a literal translation of the Spanish.—Ed.]

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

The Volcanoes of Central America, and the Geographical and Topographical Features of Nicaragua, as connected with the proposed Interoceanic Canal: being the substance of the Remarks made before the "American Association" at New Haven. New York, 1850.

- E. George Squier, Nicaragua and Henry Lytton Bulwer. Granada, Nicaragua, 1850. 2d ed., León, 1851.
- Letter to Hon. H. S. Foote, Chairman of Committee of Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, on the Nicaragua Treaty. 1850. A Spanish translation was published in the *Gaceta del Salvador*, January 24 and 31, 1851.
- The Serpent Symbol and the Worship of the reciprocal Principles of Nature in America. New York, G. P. Putnam, 1851. 2d ed., in Spanish, Habana, 1855.
- Travels in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua; with a description of its aboriginal monuments, scenery & people, their languages, institutions, religions, etc. First edition, London, Longman & Company, London, 1852, 9 maps and 25 engravings; 2nd edition, 2 vol. D. Appleton & Company, New York. In Leipzig was made another edition by Carl Ritter, 1854: "Der Central amerikanische Staat Nicaragua in Bezug auf sein Volk, seine Natur und seine Denkmäler. Nebst einer ausführlichen Abhandlung über den projectirten interoceanischen Kanal", maps and engraving, pp. XVIII-570 in 8vo. Translated into German by Eduard Höpfner.
- Nicaragua, its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the proposed interoceanic Canal. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1852. With numerous original maps and illustrations. 2 vols.
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He who wishes to have complete bibliographical information concerning the rest of Squier's works (since I have noted only those which refer to Central America), should read the appendix of C. Seitz to *Letters from Francis Parkman to E. G. Squier*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1911. Bancroft has a note in volume VIII of his *Works*, pp. 261-263. Squier's library was sold at

public auction in New York, in April, 1876, and in that same year Joseph Sabin published the catalogue. In that work there appears a manuscript entitled *Arte de Lengua Quiché o Utlateca, compuesto por E. M. R. P. Fray Bartolomé Auteo [sic] Religioso Menor de N. S. P. San Francisco*", with an essay on the Quichés by Mr. Squier. There is also a manuscript in the Library of the Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, entitled "*Lenca*" Vocabularies from the villages of Guajiquero, Opatoro, Intibucat and Simalaton (Honduras), of 11 pages.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

Mexico, 1921.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Baltimore, Maryland, for October 1, 1922.

City of Washington, }
District of Columbia } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the city and District aforesaid, personally appeared James A. Robertson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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